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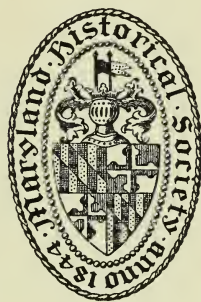
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35

VOLUME XXXV

BALTIMORE

1940

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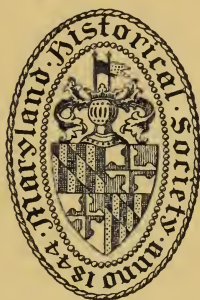
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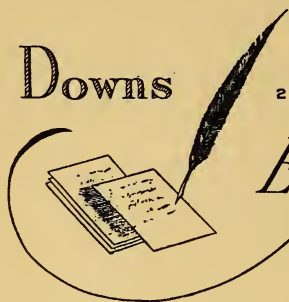
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The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

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No. 1.

PRIVATEERING FROM BALTIMORE DURING THE SPANISH AMERICAN WARS OF INDEPENDENCE

By CHARLES C. GRIFFIN

In 1815 those who expected the piping times of peace to bring a return to settled conditions were to be sadly disillusioned. Not only in Europe but in young America the new era was to prove a dynamic period of transition and readjustment in which older ways were molded to conform to new patterns. New forces unleashed during the previous generation continued to work, unhampered by the superficial political equilibrium. In the United States the transitional aspect of the times showed itself in various ways in the field of oversea trade and shipping.

The shift from the established lines of colonial commerce begun during the American Revolution had by no means entirely worked itself out. Though the last years of the eighteenth century had seen the development of new commercial contacts with South America, the Orient and continental Europe, the prevalence of war during so much of the period tended to concentrate the attention of American merchants and shipowners on the carrying trade with Europe. The embargo of 1808 and the War of 1812 had interrupted that trade, but the coming of the general peace did not lead to its reanimation on the old level. European merchant fleets now resumed activities that war had largely prevented and under these more competitive conditions American shipping had to seek new channels with even greater energy.¹

It was in this critical period of United States maritime history that privateering under the colors of the revolutionary Spanish

¹ E. R. Johnson *et al.*, *History of the Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States*, Washington, 1915, II, 33.

American governments came into prominence and helped to reduce unemployment of ships and men for some years. This paper describes "patriot" privateering as it was carried on in its principal center in the United States, the port of Baltimore. It deals with finance and management, recruiting of officers and crews, ships used and their equipment. Though complete quantitative statistics are not available, an attempt will be made to estimate the significance of this adventurous and violent occupation, which in many ways seems more closely related to the days of Henry Morgan and Blackbeard than to the nineteenth century.

The immediate antecedents of this activity lie in the War of 1812. It was at this time that Baltimore shipbuilders developed the "Baltimore Clipper," a fast rakish type of vessel ranging in size from less than one hundred to five hundred tons and rigged either as a schooner or brig.² Primarily designed for speed and the ability to sail close to the wind, these ships were ideal as privateers and scores of them won their baptism of fire during the war with Great Britain.³ The rapid growth of Baltimore and its communications with the hinterland since the Revolution,⁴ the accumulation of capital in manufacturing and shipping,⁵ the lack of ties of tradition to older established lines of maritime activity, together with the more enthusiastic attitude of Baltimore towards the War of 1812 in comparison with the other cities of the eastern seaboard,⁶—all help to explain the preëminence of Baltimore in privateering.

With the coming of peace in 1815 many of these vessels were laid up; and their crews, after spending their prize money, lounged about the docks—restless, discontented, and ready for almost any new venture, for peaceful employment was scarce. After a brief flurry

² H. I. Chapelle, *The History of American Sailing Ships*, New York, 1935, pp. 130 ff., illustration facing p. 142, p. 174-6.

³ George Coggeshall, *History of the American Privateers during our War with England in the Years 1812, '13 and '14 . . .*, New York, 1861, pp. xlvii, and 5-7 for tables of these vessels. These figures are incomplete and are corrected in the forthcoming book, *Men of Marque*, on the history of the Baltimore privateers in the War of 1812 by Messrs. John Philips Cranwell and William B. Crane. The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to these gentlemen. Not only did they generously assist him to secure data on men and ships active during the war and later under South American colors, but they also allowed him to see part of their manuscript and have given him the benefit of their criticism of this essay. With regard to Baltimore privateers in the War of 1812 *Men of Marque* will be definitive and will supersede books like that of Coggeshall.

⁴ Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States*, New York, 1929, I, 338.

⁵ For Baltimore shipping compared with that of other ports see *American State Papers*, Vol. VII, *Commerce and Navigation*, Washington, 1832, pp. 44 ff., also *Ibid.*, VIII, 40 and 454. The figures for Baltimore are: 1789-90, 90,639 tons; 1810, 103,444 tons; 1815, 107, 137 tons.

⁶ J. T. Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore*, Baltimore, 1874, pp. 355 ff.

of activity the American merchant marine remained in the doldrums.⁷ Though trade boomed, European shipping tended to replace American in carrying manufactures to the United States. American vessels were lying at anchor while great fleets of British vessels dumped cargo after cargo of cheap goods to be sold at auction in the principal Atlantic ports.⁸ The owners of these vessels were almost as distressed as the seamen. Some of them—rather than see their ships rot—turned to the slave trade and set carpenters to work fitting shelves and irons in the holds and between decks in preparation for the middle passage.⁹ Others, though unwilling to take this step, were ready for almost any other alternative.

I

Such was the situation early in 1816, when Thomas Taylor, a Wilmington, Delaware, man who had been for some years a resident of Buenos Aires, appeared in Baltimore with six privateering licences signed in blank for the purpose of organizing in the United States a campaign against Spanish seaborne commerce, which the resources of rebellious Buenos Aires were unable to cope with alone.¹⁰ He was able to paint an alluring picture of the possibilities awaiting those who took advantage of his offers. Americans had never liked

⁷ Timothy Pitkin, *A Statistical View of the United States*, etc., New York, 1817, p. 296.

⁸ J. B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States* . . . , New York, 1895, IV, 323-324.

⁹ For Baltimore and the slave trade see J. Skinner to J. Monroe, Jan. 13, 1817, Monroe Papers, Library of Congress, (Johnson Collection); Report of British Consul, Baltimore, to St. John Baker (Consul Gen.) July 6, 1816, Library of Congress, photocopies from the Public Record Office, London, Foreign Office, 5, Vol. 115. Hereafter cited as PRO-FO-5.

¹⁰ From this point this paper is based principally on the records of the United States courts in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. The District Courts had original admiralty jurisdiction and their records proved the most full and valuable, but in certain instances Circuit Court records in the same cities were also used, especially for criminal proceedings. Criminal records are scant, consisting of the indictment with endorsements showing the course of proceedings. Occasionally depositions are found filed with the indictments. The Admiralty records of the District Courts consist usually of the original complaint or *Libel*, the *Claim* or *Answer* of the other party to the suit, sometimes a *Replication*, reasserting and elaborating the libel, the *Decree*, or decision of the court. In many instances the cases were discontinued and no decree is to be found, in other cases the original decree seems to have been sent up to the higher courts when cases were appealed and no copy filed. With these principal legal papers are subsidiary ones: writs of attachment, appraisal and sale and many depositions and affidavits. The last mentioned records proved invaluable for the purpose of this essay. To save space these records are cited as follows: Admiralty Records, District Court . . . A.R.; Criminal Records, Circuit Court . . . C.R.; Deposition . . . Dep.; Baltimore, . . . B; Philadelphia . . . P; New York . . . N.Y. In this instance see *U. S. vs. Samuel Franklin et al.*, Libel, Dec. 9, 1819, A.R.B.; also L. W. Bealer, *Los corsarios de Buenos Aires*, Buenos Aires, 1937, p. 57 f. Further data in *T. Taylor vs. T. Stoughton*, A. R. N. Y.

the Spaniards, and here was an opportunity to work off an ancient grudge and at the same time to strike a blow for "Liberty" and the independence of the American continents.¹¹

Already a few Americans had shown what they could do in the naval service of the "patriots." Taylor himself had served under Admiral Brown in the River Plate and had recently made a successful privateering cruise in the *Zephyr* that seemed to prove what riches awaited the bold adventurer.¹² It was not necessary to labor the point. Two ships were fitted out by local merchants under the supervision of Taylor, the *Romp* and the *Orb*. Both had seen service in the late war¹³ and were to be the forerunners of a large number of vessels during the next few years.

Activity was increased by the entry of several other revolutionary governments into the field of privateering, though none played so large a part in Baltimore as Buenos Aires, or as the region was then styled—The United Provinces of Rio de la Plata. Mexican rebels had begun on a small scale several years earlier,¹⁴ as had the insurgents of New Granada,¹⁵ but the ships that sailed under these colors made greater use of New Orleans as a base.¹⁶ After 1816, however, the flag of General Artigas, a rebel leader who controlled the region now known as Uruguay, was often used instead of that of Buenos Aires. Artigas was at war with Portugal as well as with Spain and his commissions, though highly irregular owing to the shadowy character of his government, purported to authorize depredations on Portuguese property at a time when Spanish ships were becoming scarce.¹⁷ The government of Venezuela also became useful to the privateers, especially because of its control of the port of Juan Griego on the island of Margarita which was a convenient base in the Caribbean.¹⁸

When Taylor initiated privateering under the Buenos Aires flag

¹¹ American opinion towards Spain and Spanish America at this time is surveyed in the author's *The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire, 1810-1822*, New York, 1937, pp. 16, 123 ff., and 161 ff.

¹² Bealer, *op. cit.*, p. 18. The cruise took place in 1815.

¹³ British Consul, Baltimore, to St. John Baker (Consul General) July 6, 1816, PRO-FO-5, Vol. 115; U. S. *vs. Orb* (alias *Congreso*), Libel, Mar. 25, 1817, A. R. B.

¹⁴ I. Fabela, *Precursores de la diplomacia mejicana*, Mexico, 1926, p. 43.

¹⁵ J. B. Scott, ed., *Prize Cases Decided in the United States Supreme Court*, Oxford, 1923, p. 1070 f.

¹⁶ Beverly Chew to W. H. Crawford, Aug. 30 and Oct. 17, 1817, Consular Letters, Galveston, Department of State, Washington, D. C., hereafter cited as D. S. These documents have been transferred to the National Archives since they were consulted by the writer but the citations as given will identify the papers.

¹⁷ For an example of the many instances where the Artigas flag was used see J. J. Vasques *vs.* Chase, Karrick, *et al.* Libel, Sept. 15, 1818, A. R. B. See also Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

¹⁸ J. J. Bernabeu *vs.* Cargo of the Brig *Wilson*, Plea of J. Almeida, Nov. 26, 1819, A. R. B.; Dep. of Burke, June 25, 1819, *Renguenet vs. Fortuna* and cargo, A. R. P.

at Baltimore in 1816 there were no resident agents of the Spanish American governments in the United States. After that year, however, such agents multiplied and part of their work was to encourage the activity of the privateers.¹⁹

Though from the outset the vessels and the men had been Baltimorean, the first privateers were not all the property of local citizens. David C. DeForest, an American merchant who had been established for some time at Buenos Aires, was one of the first to invest in the vessels and Taylor was associated with him. W. G. Miller, Zimmerman Lynch and Co., and Thomas L. Halsey, the last mentioned an American consular agent, all of Buenos Aires, were interested in Baltimore privateering.²⁰ It was not long, however, before local capitalists began to dominate the business. The details of ownership are hard to unravel, for these enterprises on the verge of legality were covered up wherever possible. Frequent fictitious sales were made²¹ and contradictory testimony in court shows that perjury was not absent as a further complication. In many cases the captains of the vessels figured as owners, though they might have had only a small share. Some of the more successful of the privateer captains, however, were soon in a position to own vessels for themselves. Among them Joseph Almeida, John Daniels, Thomas Taylor, and John Chase were the most conspicuous.²²

The most important group of merchants engaged in privateering at Baltimore was known as the "American Concern." It had a somewhat shifting composition and it was sometimes referred to as the "Old," and again as the "New Concern," but throughout there was a continuity that is attested by the frequency with which the same names appear in association in lawsuits arising from privateer activities. The first venture of the concern was the purchase of a new vessel, the *Fourth of July*, which, under the various aliases of *Fortuna*, *Patriota*, and *Enemy of Tyrants*, had a successful career. The principal shareholders were Joseph Karrick, a merchant, Mathew

¹⁹ Griffin, *op. cit.*, chapters III and IV *passim*.

²⁰ J. B. Bernabeu *vs.* Cargo of the *Almeida*, Claim of Wilson and Almeida, Dec. 20, 1819, A. R. B.; M. Moreno y Mora *vs.* *Leona*, Dep. of A. Nichols, Jan. 11, 1817, A. R. N. Y. All show ownership by DeForest. For complicity of Halsey see Halsey to Thornton, Aug. 24, 1819, Papers of William Thornton, Vol. 62, Division of MSS, L. C. For the part played by J. Higginbotham and W. S. Ford at Buenos Aires see Bealer, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

²¹ For such a sale of the *Fortuna* at Buenos Aires see J. J. Vasques *vs.* Sundry Boxes of Bullion, Plea of J. Chase, Dec. 18, 1818, A. R. B.; a similar transaction involving the *Athenian*, J. J. Vasques *vs.* R. M. Goodwin, Answer of Goodwin, Dec. 3, 1819, A. R. N. Y.

²² For Almeida, U. S. *vs.* *Orb.*, Petition of Almeida, Mar. 28, 1817; for Daniels, J. Bernabeu *vs.* *Nereyda*, both in A. R. B.; for Taylor, J. J. Vasques *vs.* U. S., Dep. of Murray, Oct. 24, 1818, A. R. N. Y.

Murray, a politician and ex-sheriff, John G. Johnston, J. Gooding, and Samuel Brown, a ship captain. Other partners were John Snyder, Joseph Patterson, and the postmaster, John S. Skinner, influential in politics, who had been Francis Scott Key's companion during the bombardment of Fort McHenry. Changes occurred in the company after the cruise of the *Fortuna* as disputes arose over the division of profits and future policy. Some wished larger dividends and others to reinvest in additional craft. In one form or another the group held together, however, until 1821.²³

Another group was dominated by Clement Cathell and R. M. Goodwin with a number of lesser associates. Their first venture was the *Athenian*, re-christened the *New Republican*, which also had a successful record.²⁴ The captain of this vessel, John Chase, was also a member of the other concern and there is other evidence of a sort of interlocking directorate that made all the privateering interests of the city a closely knit business group. Many Baltimore merchants looked down on the business as disreputable and feeling ran high between the friends and the enemies of the privateers.²⁵ Associated with the shipowners and possibly themselves shareholders were a number of officials. Skinner, the postmaster, has already been mentioned. James McCulloch, collector of the port, was one of their chief friends. Judge Theodoric Bland of the Federal Court was suspected by many of having an improper interest in the business though it was never proved.²⁶ Celebrated lawyers, among them William Pinkney, represented the privateer interest before the courts. General William H. Winder, local militia hero of the late war and influential in politics, also appeared as counsel.²⁷

²³ The evidence for this statement is widely scattered and cannot all be cited here. Messrs. Karrick, Taylor, Harrison, of the firm of Harrison and Thompson, John Sands, Samuel Brown, J. G. Johnston, John Snyder, Joseph Patterson are all connected with the "American Concern" in the following MSS: J. J. Vasques *vs.* U. S., Dep. of Murray, Oct. 20, 24, 1818; Vasques *vs.* Cargo of *Don Joao Sexto*, Dep. of J. G. Johnston, 1819, both in A. R. N. Y. Vasques *vs.* Karrick *et al.*, Dep. of J. Sands, Sept., 1818, A. R. B. Indictments against many of these men in C. R. B. aid to substantiate these records.

²⁴ J. Jose *et al.* *vs.* C. Cathell and R. M. Goodwin, Dep. of Joshua Chambers, A. R. B.; Vasques *vs.* Goodwin, Dep. of J. Smith, Dec., 1819, A. R. N. Y. Other owners not connected definitely with either group were J. Gooding and Nicholas Stansbury. See indictment of the latter, C. R. B.

²⁵ *Niles' Weekly Register*, April 1, 1819; *Baltimore Federal Gazette*, Jan. 6, 1819; see also C. F. Adams, ed., *The Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, Phila., 1874-77, IV, 186.

²⁶ J. Q. Adams to Bland accepting his denial, Aug. 23, 1819, Domestic Letters, Vol. VII, D. S.; Adams, *Memoirs*, IV, 318. Bland was an ardent supporter of the Spanish American cause, but his character and the lack of specific evidence make the accusations unconvincing. He did not, however, adopt as harsh an attitude toward the privateers as did his colleague, Judge Peters of Philadelphia.

²⁷ J. B. Scott, ed., *Prize Cases*, p. 1168; U. S. *vs.* *Orb*, Judge Houston to the Clerk of the Court, Mar. 29, 1817, A. R. B.

More can be told about the men who actually commanded the ships. Most of them had served their apprenticeship to the trade during the War of 1812 and the most daring and successful of those who sailed from Baltimore in that war were prominent in the service of Spanish American flags. Thomas Boyle was perhaps the most famous of all. His cruise in the *Chasseur* had come close to making him a national hero.²⁸ Others scarcely less prominent were John Dieter, Daniel Chayter, James Chayter, James Barnes, John Daniels, John Clark, Joseph Almeida, the Portuguese-American, and many lesser lights.²⁹ Among them figured others who lacked the previous experience as commanders, but who seemed to find little difficulty in adapting themselves to the life.³⁰ Some of these men were adventurers without roots anywhere, but others were apparently domiciled in Baltimore.³¹

II

Some notion of the relative importance of Baltimore in comparison with the privateering business under Spanish American flags as a whole can be derived from the following figures, which must, however, be used with caution. Three contemporary sources agree that between 1816 and 1818 twelve privateers were fitted out at Baltimore.³² Estimates for the United States as a whole run as high as 33, but that figure is undoubtedly high and includes armed vessels which were purchased for the navies of Buenos Aires and Chile and which never served as privateers.³³ The frequent changes of name that these ships underwent makes it hard to avoid counting the same vessel twice under different names.³⁴ Historical investigators disagree on the total of Buenos Aires privateers. One gives thirty-six as the total, pointing out that all of these were never in commission at the same time, the highest number in any one year being 23 in 1818.³⁵ Another more recent study raises the list to over 45, but admits the impossibility of an accurate count.³⁶ The Venezuelan

²⁸ Coggeshall, *op. cit.*; Scharf, *op. cit.*, pp. 356, 371.

²⁹ Bealer, *op. cit.*, 44-46; Correa da Serra to Sir Charles Bagot, PRO-FO-5, Vol. 121, L. C.

³⁰ Bealer, *op. cit.*, p. 44. Among these were T. Taylor and James Ross.

³¹ *Baltimore Directory and Register*, 1816, ed. by Matchett, Baltimore, 1816, lists the following as residents; J. Barnes, T. Boyle, J. Almeida, J. Clark, J. Chayter, J. Dieter, and J. Daniels.

³² L. de Onís to J. Pizarro, April 20, 1818, *Archivo Historico Nacional*, Madrid, Estado, Bundle 5644, cited hereafter as A. H. N. Onís to Adams, Nov. 16, 1818, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, Washington, 1832, IV, 534-5; Correa da Serra to Bagot, 1818, PRO-FO-5, Vol. 141, L. C.

³³ *National Intelligencer*, Washington, D. C., Jan. 16, 1819.

³⁴ See list *infra*.

³⁵ T. S. Currier, *Los corsarios del Rio de la Plata*, Buenos Aires, 1929, p. 23 and f.

³⁶ Bealer, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

fleet under Admiral Brion, which divided its activity between regular government service and privateering, fluctuated in size, being at intervals reported to consist of seventeen, fourteen to sixteen, and ten to twelve vessels. An indeterminate number of these were very small coasting craft.³⁷ Irregular vessels under Mexican colors were at one time reported to have numbered between ten and twelve, while the combined forces of Brion and Aury, the Mexican naval chief, was at one time stated to be 18 ships.³⁸ As 14 or more of the Mexican and Venezuelan ships were reported to have fitted out in New Orleans³⁹ it will at once appear that the Baltimore vessels account for a large percentage of the rest. The number of ships, furthermore, does not give an accurate idea of the relative importance of the two ports. The average Baltimore clipper carried 12 guns and a crew of 90 to 100 men,⁴⁰ while most of the ships based at New Orleans were smaller, ranging in armament from one to six guns with from thirty to one hundred men.⁴¹

A more accurate method of establishing a *minimum* for these vessels is to list all those which at one time or another were formally accused in legal proceedings of having been illegally outfitted at Baltimore. The court records can hardly include all the vessels, but the following list indicates that the number of ships was greater than that estimated by contemporary newspapers and diplomatic reports. It is based on a mass of material in the archives of the Federal Courts in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore.

NAME OF PRIVATEER	ALIAS	COMMANDED BY	PROCEEDINGS AT	YEAR
Almeida	Bolívar	{ Wilson Almeida	Baltimore	1819
Arizmendi	Hunter	Brown	"	1817
Buenos Aires	Fortuna	Forde	"	1817
Buenos Aires	Gral. Artigas	Dieter	New York	1818
Corona	Libertad	{ Ewing Sanders	Baltimore	1818
Congreso de Venezuela	Irresistible Vacuna Maipó Defiance Vencedor	{ Daniels Child Ferguson	"	1817-19

³⁷ *Niles' Weekly Register*, Aug. 31, 1816; Feb. 1, 1817; B. Irvine to J. Q. Adams, July 20, 1818, Special Agents, Vol. VIII, D. S.

³⁸ *Niles' Weekly Register*, Sept. 7, 1816.

³⁹ Admiral J. E. Douglas to Sir Charles Bagot, Nov. 21, 1816, PRO-FO-5, Vol. 121, L. C.

⁴⁰ See table *infra*.

⁴¹ As listed by Beverly Chew, incl. with Chew to Crawford, Consular Letters, Galveston, Vol. I, D. S.

NAME OF PRIVATEER	ALIAS	COMMANDED BY	PROCEEDINGS AT	YEAR
Fourth of July	Patriota Fortuna Enemy of Tyrants	{ Taylor Chase Clark	Baltimore	1818
General Santander		Chase	"	1824
Hornet	Traveller Alerta	_____	"	1818
Luisa Casares	Huntress Arogante Barcelones	Almeida	"	1819
Independencia del Sud	Mammoth	D. Chayter	New York	1819
Maria	25 de Mayo	_____	Baltimore	1817
New Republicana	Athenian	Chase	New York	1819
Orb	Congreso Tyger Pueyrredón	{ Almeida Daniels	Baltimore	1817-19
Paz	Patriota San Martín	{ Utley Stafford	Baltimore	1817
Perthshire	Snaptdragon Mendocino	Brown	"	1818
Republicana		Taylor	New York	1818
Romp	Santafecino Atrevida Altavela	{ Taylor Fish	Richmond	1817
Spartan	Tucumán Potosí Julia de Forest Almeida	{ Chase Wilson	Philadelphia	1819
Swift	Mangoré Pueyrredón Tigre Oriental	{ Barnes Franklin	Baltimore	1817-19
Valiente Guaycurú		Levely	Philadelphia	1822

Note: Though some of the aliases listed above seem to overlap it has been proved in each case that the two ships were in different places at the same time and could not be identical. No ships are listed which were not reported under oath to have been outfitted, if not actually built, in Baltimore.

Total Number of Privateers..... 21
 Number of Captains of the Above..... 19

With regard to the number and value of the prizes taken by these ships exact statistics are also as yet unavailable. Spanish commerce was swept from the sea during the years of their activity. The damage relative to the total tonnage of Spanish merchant ships must have been much greater than that done by the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers to United States shipping. Ship owners of Malaga in Spain resorted to the expedient of transferring their vessels to foreign registry⁴² and the Spanish government made desperate

⁴² Imaz to Irujo, April 8, 1819, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, Section Estado, América en General, Bundle No. 86, Dossier 12 (L. C. Photocopies).

but unavailing efforts to secure funds with which to build up an adequate naval force to meet the danger, finally resorting in its turn to the arming of privateers.⁴³ A few isolated figures will show the importance of the prizes taken.

The three most valuable prizes of the twenty-eight captured by Captain Chase of the *Fortuna* were estimated to be worth \$750,000.⁴⁴ The total value of the plunder of one cruise of the *Buenos Aires*, Captain Forde, was over \$300,000.⁴⁵ Barnes in the *Mangoré* took the richest single prize of all, the ship *Esperanza*⁴⁶ belonging to the Royal Philippine Co. and valued at \$1,000,000. The two richest prizes of the *New Republicana* were estimated worth \$380,000.⁴⁷ These, of course, were some of the richest hauls. The privateers were not always fortunate. Though the *Romp*, one of the pioneer vessels took prizes worth \$290,000,⁴⁸ Taylor, an able captain, in the same year made a cruise in which he realized scarcely anything.⁴⁹

III

In spite of the fact that privateering against Spain was a lucrative business, it was not always easy to enlist seamen for cruises. There were no regular wages⁵⁰ and the ordinary seamen were allowed only a small percentage of the prize money. There are records of a voyage in which a foremast hand received a share amounting to \$1,500,⁵¹ but the usual amount was much less, often less than \$100.⁵² It took time to realize the value of cargoes captured as the regular markets were ordinarily closed to the privateers. By the time the roundabout and uncertain financial operations necessary in order to liquidate a cruise had been completed the seamen involved had often scattered to the ends of the earth. This uncertainty of reward and the violent natures of many of the privateer captains⁵³ made it increasingly difficult to enlist men without fraud or violence. More than once men were decoyed on board under the impression that they were

⁴³ Report of the Spanish Treasury, Jan. 21, 1818. *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ J. J. Vasques *vs.* 80 Bales Cotton, etc., Dep. of Murray, Oct. 20, 1818, A. R. N. Y.

⁴⁵ Wm. R. Swift *vs.* Sundry Mdse. and H. S. Forde, Libel, April 14, 1819. Daniels in the *Irresistible* once took prizes worth \$1,500,000, Bernabeu *vs.* *Nereyda*, A. R. B.

⁴⁶ Stoughton *vs.* Barnes, Affidavit of J. Peckner, July 24, 1818, A. R. N. Y.

⁴⁷ Vasques *vs.* Goodwin, Dep. of J. Smith, Dec. 18, 1819, A. R. N. Y.

⁴⁸ Onis to Sec. of State, Mar. 26, 1817, in Manning, ed., *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning the Independence of the Latin American Nations*, New York and London, 1925, III, 1923.

⁴⁹ Vasques *vs.* U. S., Dep. of M. Murray, Oct. 24, 1818, A. R. N. Y.

⁵⁰ M. Moreno *vs.* *Leona*, Dep. of Babcock, A. R. N. Y.

⁵¹ Currier, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁵² This figure is approximate only.

⁵³ Indictment of Ferguson for piracy, also Dep. filed with same May 26, 1819, C. R. B.; for a case of assault see J. M. Gass, *vs.* Wm. Foster *et al.*, Libel, Oct. 26, 1818, A. R. B.

bound on a regular merchant trading voyage, or sometimes that they were going whaling or sealing.⁵⁴ At other times some advances had to be made to the crew in cash to the great discontent of the owners who seemed to have little feeling for the welfare of John Sailor-man.⁵⁵ The keepers of sailors' boarding houses proved invaluable in recruiting. They were often able to bring men to the point of enlistment by refusing them further credit, and were not above the classic waterfront practise of filling a prospective hand with rum and conveying him on board in a horizontal position.⁵⁶ Methods became more violent as it became known to sailors that these vessels were not engaged in a strictly legal business. After 1819 a number of privateer crews were brought to trial for piracy and not a few were condemned. Though not all of those condemned were executed, the trials made seamen wary.⁵⁷

In 1816, force was seldom necessary. The usual method was to face the crew with a *fait accompli*. After several days at sea the crew would be mustered aft. The captain would produce his privateering licence; inform the crew that they must sign new ship's articles; promise to make their fortunes and threaten those who demurred. Rum would be served and a salute fired as the humdrum Anglo-Saxon name of the vessel was changed to some more resounding Spanish one, and a new flag broken to the wind.⁵⁸ Some men, even under this kind of persuasion proved obdurate and were put in irons.⁵⁹ It does not appear that many resisted that treatment for long. Forced service, however, accounts for the unusual number of mutinies on board the privateers.⁶⁰

The crew of a typical Baltimore privateer was usually even more nondescript as to nationality than was usual in those days. The *Orb*, when commanded by Almeida, carried a complement of 71 seamen and 8 marines.⁶¹ Among them were:

Englishmen	22
Americans	17

⁵⁴ For fraudulent enlistments see *M. Moreno vs. Leona*, Dep. of T. Jones, Jan. 20, 1817, A. R. N. Y.; *Bernabeu vs. Cargo of Wilson*, Dep. of H. S. Smith and H. Trigger, Aug., 1819, A. R. B.

⁵⁵ *T. Stoughton vs. J. Barnes*, Affidavit of Peckner, July 24, 1818; *U. S. vs. D. James*, Dep. of S. Purdy, Jan. 12, 1820, C. R. B.

⁵⁶ *U. S. vs. P. G. Stevens*, Indictment for misdemeanor, May, 1819, C. R. B.; *U. S. vs. Sundry Dry Goods*, Dep. of A. Coop, 1819, A. R. B.

⁵⁷ *Columbian Centinel*, Boston, Mar. 8, 1820; Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

⁵⁸ *T. Stoughton vs. T. Taylor*, Affidavit of Wm. Thornton, Aug. 21, 1818; *M. Moreno vs. Leona*, Dep. of T. Jones, Jan. 20, 1817, *T. Stoughton vs. J. Barnes*, Affidavit of Peckner, A. R. N. Y.; *U. S. vs. Fourth of July*, Dep. of H. Allen, Sept. 4, 1818, A. R. B.

⁵⁹ *J. B. Bernabeu vs. Cargo of Wilson*, Dep. of H. S. Smith, A. R. B.

⁶⁰ See notes 87, 88, and 89 *infra*; also Bealer, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁶¹ *U. S. vs. Orb*, List of crews and nationalities, 1817, A. R. B.

Buenos Ayreans (8 marines) ..	9
Irishmen	7
Frenchmen	6
Swedes	3
Islanders (Azores, etc.)	3
Portuguese	3
Spaniards	2
Italians	2
Majorcans	2
Cartagena (N. Granada)	1
St. Lucia (W. I.)	1
Dutchman	1
<hr/>	
Total	79

When the neutrality laws of the United States began to be more strictly enforced in 1817, an additional precaution was taken and American citizens enlisting were made to swear to foreign names and nationalities. On one occasion an inspection of an outgoing privateer brought to light the rather ludicrous phenomenon of sailors who were unable to answer to their names. Under questioning many broke down, admitted their perjury, and were removed by the revenue officer to the intense disgust of the privateer captain who is reported to have shouted after his crew as they departed in the cutter that he would give them all five dozen apiece until the blood ran out of the scuppers if he ever caught any of them again outside the United States.⁶²

Certain precautions were usually taken in order to avoid such *contretemps* as that just related. A skeleton crew would clear with the ship from Baltimore. Below Annapolis, or sometimes as far away as Hampton Roads, a pilot boat would bring the additional crew on board. Recruits were often picked up at Norfolk or off the capes.⁶³

The number of men aboard a privateer varied with the size of the vessel, but the typical craft carried from 70 to 100 men, though there are instances of crews of over 140. If we use the figures of Baltimore privateers given above, or a minimum total of 21 ships, and adopt the conservative figure of 90 men per ship it will be seen that close to two thousand men must have served on these vessels. There were many Americans, of course, who served on privateers unconnected with Baltimore. One author calculates that there were as many as 3500 American seamen in the Buenos Aires service at one

⁶² U. S. *vs.* D. James, Affidavit of Wm. McCausland, Jan. 12, 1820, C. R. B.

⁶³ For one of many examples see U. S. *vs.* *Fourth of July*, Dep. of S. Morling, Sept. 4, 1818, A. R. B.

time.⁶⁴ Merchant captains found it almost impossible to keep their crews intact when in Spanish American ports, so great was the effort to man these cruisers. The difficulty was serious enough to bring remonstrances by the United States against the encouragement of desertion at Buenos Aires and Valparaiso by local authorities.⁶⁵

IV

As to the ships themselves, the type of construction was that developed during the war of 1812. So advanced in sailing qualities they were, beyond the usual merchantman or small naval vessel, that they could only be handled by officers and men trained for the purpose. The British found some of those they captured during the war so difficult and dangerous to manoeuvre that they cut down the spars and sail area considerably before making use of them as despatch boats.⁶⁶ Smaller than the later clipper ships, and without great cargo capacity per ton of displacement, they were an intermediate type between the merchantmen of the eighteenth century and the proud vessels which made the record runs to Canton and San Francisco in the fifties. The cost of one of the larger of these privateers, fully equipped and in good condition varied from \$25,000 to \$40,000. One new and well built vessel figures in a sale at \$35,000, but it may not have been a sale at true market price.⁶⁷ The same ship is elsewhere valued at \$42,000.⁶⁸ Another ship which began its career as a privateer as a prize to the *Luisa* of Captain Almeida was not worth more than \$9,000 without armament.⁶⁹

Being light vessels with a single deck, armament was comparatively simple. The guns to be used were usually shipped in the hold and mounted at sea. No piercing of ports was necessary. The light 12-lb. carronade or gunnade was the favorite weapon, but 6-, 9-, and 18-pounders⁷⁰ were also used, guns with but slight range but with murderous effect at close quarters where the privateers did most of their fighting. As the approved tactics were for the privateer to rely on her speed to overhaul her quarry and then to take advantage of

⁶⁴ Currier, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁶⁵ T. L. Halsey to G. Tagle, July 31, 1815, Consular Letters, Buenos Aires, D. S. For the Valparaiso situation see Statement of S. Townshend, April 27, 1819, Special Agents, Vol. V, D. S.

⁶⁶ Henry Adams, *History of the United States* . . . New York, 1891, VII, 318-319.

⁶⁷ Vasques vs. Goodwin, Answer of Goodwin, Dec. 3, 1819, A. R. N. Y.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* Dep. of J. Smith, Dec. 18, 1819.

⁶⁹ The *Arogante Barcelones* was valued by the court appraisers at \$9,000. It later became the privateer *Luisa Casares*, Bernabeu vs. *Arogante Barcelones*, Bond, April 19, 1819. Other privateers were valued at \$30,000 and \$28,000, the *Mangore* and the *Irresistible* respectively. A. R. B.

⁷⁰ See table *infra*.

superior man-power by boarding, there was little use for heavy long-range guns. For chasing fast vessels it was customary to use a single heavy long range gun mounted on a swivel at the bow or occasionally in the waist. The following table shows the armament of some of the privateers:

VESSEL	COMMANDER	NO. GUNS	CALIBRE	CREW
J. DeForest	Wilson	7	18-and 12-lb.	89
Fortuna	Chase	13	18-lb. (1-32)	101
Orb	Almeida	6	9-lb.	75
Fourth of July	Taylor	12	18-lb. (1-30)	90-100
Athenian	Chase	16	? (1-32)	90-100
Mangoré	Barnes	9	18-lb. (1-32)	100 plus
Luisa	Almeida	10	6-and 8-lb.	80-90
Irresistible	Daniels	12	18-lb.	?
Congreso	Almeida	10	9-lb.	80
Patriota	Stafford	14	6, 9-and 18-lb.	112

The authority under which these ships proceeded to attack Spanish commerce was a document usually referred to as a commission or privateering licence. Baltimore ships used licences of four different revolutionary governments at one time or another.⁷¹ Naval warfare of this kind was very cheap for the governments concerned. All that was necessary was a supply of ink and paper. In order to give some semblance of regularity to their activities, however, it was usual to adopt a prize code law, copies of which were furnished to those applying for licences. Prize courts to administer admiralty law were also set up, though only that at Buenos Aires functioned with much regard for due process. The codes adopted were usually those of Spain or Great Britain with modifications to suit local needs.⁷² In addition to these papers the officers were furnished commissions giving their names, rank, and other data, and it was also common for the officers to carry certificates of citizenship of the country under which they served.⁷³ Some of these were *bona fide* documents, as naturalization papers in the new world went at that period, but others were issued purely and simply to enable the holders to escape the jurisdiction of the United States courts.⁷⁴

The rules and regulations laid down in the prize codes and instructions to privateers were largely disregarded or were complied with in a perfunctory way. Few prizes were sent to any prize court and some ships carried licences of two different governments at the

⁷¹ Buenos Aires (United Provinces), Artigas (Banda Oriental), Venezuela (later Colombia), and Mexico. No Chilean or Peruvian privateers were based at Baltimore.

⁷² Bealer, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁷³ For copies of such documents see Taylor *vs.* Stoughton, A. R. N. Y.

⁷⁴ See Decree, May 26, 1819, *ibid.*

same time.⁷⁵ The failure to send prizes before the courts was not entirely owing to bad faith. Buenos Aires and other Spanish American ports were so far from the trade routes where most of the captures were made that it was often impossible for a ship to go there owing to lack of provisions and difficulties of navigation when shorthanded. Mutiny often interfered with regular observance of the rules.⁷⁶

Two letters of instruction for a cruise are available which show how operations were conducted. In one of them the captain was ordered to cruise off Cadiz, avoiding ships of war at all hazard. All specie captured was to be kept on board the privateer. Fast sailing prizes were to be retained and slower ships abandoned or used to send prisoners ashore. The papers of all prizes were to be carefully preserved and forwarded in due course to the prize tribunals at Buenos Aires, Haiti, or Margarita. All prizes that were not left to their fate were also to make for these ports. In case of need for repairs or provisions the Chesapeake Bay region was to be sought. An agent at Baltimore must be kept informed of all important captures.⁷⁷

The second letter of instruction is reproduced in full below. Though it does not apply to a Baltimore vessel there is reason to believe that it illustrates typical practice. In fact the reader will note that various parts of the letter are substantiated in the present essay.

Articles of Agreement and of Instructions to Captain J. I. Mitchill, his officers and crew, on board the schooner *Harriet* of Norfolk, whereof the said Mitchill is at present master, bound on a cruise as a patriot privateer under a lawful Buenos Aires commission against the Old Spanish Dominions, etc.,

To take and make good prizes of Spanish property that they may meet with on land or sea and not to infringe on any other government without necessity forces the same, and then to make proper acknowledgment for so doing.—the property taken to be divided in the following manner, that is to say, one half to the owner or owners of the privateer, fourteen shares to Captain Mitchill, eight shares to his second officer and so on in proportion, the sailors each two shares. If cash taken, to be divided on board as above. The owner's share to be held safe until a favorable opportunity to ship it home to Philadelphia or New York or Baltimore or Norfolk with letters &c. to be directed to the

⁷⁵ Taylor on his first cruise in the *Fourth of July* (a) *Patriota*. Affidavit of Wm. Thornton, Aug. 26, 1818, *ibid*.

⁷⁶ For mutinies see J. B. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 1270 (*Nereyda*); U. S. *vs. Irresistible*, Dep. of S. Beaver (*Irresistible*), A. R. B.; U. S. *vs. Sundry Dry Goods*, Dep. of F. Navarro, Mar. 5, 1819 (*Libertad*), A. R. B.; Bernabeu *vs.* Cargo of the *Almeida*, Claim of Wilson and Almeida, Dec. 20, 1817 (*The Fortuna*, a prize, note the privateer of that name), A. R. B.

⁷⁷ Instructions of T. Taylor to Captain Fish of the *Santafecino*, Bealer, *op. cit.*, quoting *The Times*, London, Aug. 1, 1816.

care of William Seymore, Norfolk; Masden and Burke, Philadelphia; Briscoe and Partridge Baltimore; Bucking and Abbott, New York. Should you get a valuable prize you will accompany her off the capes of Delaware or Virginia, send a letter ashore by a pilot boat, making them declare secrecy on the occasion, and the business shall be immediately attended to by me or my friends as above named at the different places of their residence. If you have cash on board, keep it until you hear from me or my friend who will attend to its safe conveyance ashore. Should you take a vessel that suits better for a privateer, make a change and keep the Harriet as a tender or let her go for herself. The cruise will continue as long as may best suit on all sides—stay not longer than six months—the owner not to be at any more cost or expenses after leaving this port. You will be particular to write me to Wilmington in the State of Delaware if you have an opportunity after you get off the West Indies, or on your cruising ground, giving some account of your cruise &c. Wishing you health and good luck, safe return &c, I remain, yours,

(signed) Christ. L. Bennett, owner,⁷⁸

February 14, 1818.

Even those masters who followed such instructions carefully must have been well aware that they were engaged in extra-legal if not strictly illegal enterprises. It is small wonder that they failed to maintain even the limited restrictions required of them. As time passed they went in for all kinds of unwarranted behavior. They hoisted any flag that suited their immediate purpose,⁷⁹ and they became increasingly bold in molesting "neutral" ships.⁸⁰ Early in the game, one scrupulous captain stopped an American ship and took off some provisions, paying for them with a flourish by check on a New Orleans bank.⁸¹ Later on, English, French, American, and Dutch ships were no longer safe.⁸² Under pretense of searching for enemy property, in itself a bold exercise of power by hitherto unrecognized governments, they took what they could find, sometimes ransoming a vessel for cash if they could not prove Spanish ownership of the cargo.⁸³ At times they were not above threats of murder and actual torture⁸⁴ in the hope of eliciting the whereabouts of hidden valuables or documents that might prove useful to them. In the attack on the British schooner *Perthshire* sailing from Jamaica by the privateer *General Arizmendi* one of the Spanish passengers, who was suspected of being the owner of some valuable cargo on

⁷⁸ *Columbian Museum and Savannah Gazette*, Mar. 16, 1818.

⁷⁹ Vasques *vs.* Sundry Bales of Cotton, Dep. of J. Gomez Flores; also Dep. of J. A. Gonsalves, A. R. N. Y.

⁸⁰ U. S. *vs.* D. James, Dep. of C. H. Walker, Nov. 29, 1819, C. R. B.; Capt. D. Patterson to Sec. of Navy, July 28, 1817, Consular Letters, Galveston, Vol. I, D. S.

⁸¹ U. S. *vs.* Sundry Dry Goods, Dep. of F. Navarro, Mar. 5, 1819, A. R. B.

⁸² *Niles' Weekly Register*, Nov. 9, 1816.

⁸³ U. S. *vs.* *Fourth of July*, Dep. of S. Morling, Sept. 4, 1818, A. R. B.

⁸⁴ Thomas Staples *vs.* Wm. Foster *et al.*, Libel, Nov. 10, 1818, A. R. B.

board, was strung up to a yard by one leg, threatened with death and otherwise treated with violence and indignity.⁸⁵

Violence did not always await the capture of a prize. On one occasion the master of a vessel was not in the owner's confidence, and believed that he had been employed to undertake a regular merchant voyage. On reaching a West Indian port the supercargo, who was the destined privateer captain, attempted to take over the vessel. When the master refused to surrender or take up privateering himself he was assaulted by the supercargo who "called him a damned rascal knocked him down and kicked him," thereby incapacitating him for some days and finally forced him to disembark by threatening to blow his brains out.⁸⁶

Mutiny under these conditions was to be expected. It would carry us too far afield to describe many of the blood-curdling incidents which the dusty admiralty records reveal. Motives varied. In one case the officers and crew thought the captain too mild and "no true privateersman."⁸⁷ In another they were afraid for their lives and decamped with the vessel as the easiest way of escape from the terrifying captain.⁸⁸

Mutineers were not always successful. The *Paz*, alias *Patriota*, Captain Stafford, had put to sea without many of the crew being aware of the true nature of the cruise. Less than a month after leaving port the discontented seamen got possession of the ship by surprise, slewed around the long swivel gun in the bow to cover the officers and their quarters and swore they would do no more duty unless the captain took them straight back to port. Stafford, who was no chicken-hearted individual, defied them and threatened to blow himself and the whole vessel sky high if they did not return to their work. Twenty-four hours passed with the crew in command of the forward end of the vessel and the officers of the after portion. Some of the officers tried persuasion unsuccessfully, but the captain's threats weakened the determination of some of the mutineers and the rest were finally forced to give in.⁸⁹

It is small wonder that newspapers in the United States which had been divided in their attitude towards this kind of privateering now began to cry out at the frequent reports of such irregularities.⁹⁰ John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, has left his scorching com-

⁸⁵ U. S. *vs.* Schooner *Arizmendi*, Dep. of Francis Prettinda, A. R. B.

⁸⁶ John Basse *vs.* John Chase, Libel, June, 1821, A. R. B.

⁸⁷ U. S. *vs.* Sundry Dry Goods, Dep. of F. Navarro, Mar. 5, 1819, A. R. B.

⁸⁸ U. S. *vs.* Ferguson, Indictment, May, 1820, C. R. B.

⁸⁹ J. Zamorano *vs.* Cargo of the *Santa Maria*, Dep. of M. P. Godfrey, Sept. 5, 1817, A. R. B.

⁹⁰ Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-7.

ment on Americans who engaged in these pursuits which he termed "unhallowed robberies wearing the mask of patriotism."⁹¹ Even Chief Justice Marshall referred from the bench to the "predatory voyages" of "abandoned and profligate men."⁹²

V

The main cruising ground of the privateers was in the West Indies and off the coast of Spain, but they were reported also in the Pacific and in the North Sea.⁹³ As *rendezvous* and temporary refuges they were able to make use of a number of small ports in the Gulf and Caribbean area held by the insurgent Spanish Americans. Juan Griego on the Venezuelan Island of Margarita, Galveston and other smaller ports on the Texas and North Mexican coast, Fernandina on Amelia Island at the mouth of the St. Mary's on the border between Georgia and the Spanish province of Florida, Port au Prince and Beta Bay in the Negro dominion of Santo Domingo all served this purpose,⁹⁴ but in none of them was equipment and refitting possible. Juan Griego and Galveston were the seats of prize courts under the supposed authority of Venezuela and Mexico respectively, but these were often mere legal blinds for the pillage of the naval commanders, Luis Aury and Brion.⁹⁵ For a short time a similar court was operated by the Scotch adventurer, Gregor McGregor, at Amelia.⁹⁶

In none of these ports was there any extensive market for the miscellaneous cargoes of coffee, hides, sugar, cigars, snuff, leather, wine, quicksilver, copper, and mahogany which the privateers wished to dispose of. There was much need for the collaboration of merchants with capital, ships, and commercial connections who were not averse to turning a not too honest penny. Baltimore and other ports of the United States served as outfitting and repair stations, but it was not so easy to dispose of prize cargoes there. Though a large part of these goods was eventually introduced into the United States, it was necessary to give them a more regular appearance of origin. Spanish and Portuguese consuls watched arrivals like hawks and were quick to smell out any irregularity. Some of the West Indian islands,

⁹¹ J. Q. Adams to Todd, June 5, 1820, Despatches to Consuls, Vol. II, D. S.

⁹² *Prize Cases*, ed. by J. B. Scott, p. 1165.

⁹³ *Niles Weekly Register*, April 5, 1817, Mar. 20, 1819; *Documentos del archivo de San Martin*, Buenos Aires, 1910-11, VIII, 209; *Moniteur*, Paris, Jan. 18, 1819; Bealer, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-6.

⁹⁴ H. B. Fuller, *The Purchase of Florida*, Cleveland, 1906, pp. 232-6; Bealer, *op. cit.*, p. 75; G. Graham to J. Q. Adams, Sept. 9, 1818, Consular Letters, Galveston, D. S.; J. B. Bernabeu *vs.* Cargo of the *Almeida*, Answer of Wilson, Dec. 20, 1819, A. R. B.

⁹⁵ Dep. of J. Ducoing, Consular Letters, Galveston, V. I., D. S. Bernabeu *vs.* *Nereyda*, Decree of Judge Bland, Jan. 3, 1820, A. R. B.

⁹⁶ Griffin, *op. cit.*, use index under "McGregor."

therefore, filled a useful place in the privateering system, particularly those belonging to the smaller powers. The Danish St. Thomas, Negro Haiti, Swedish St. Bartholomews, Dutch St. Martins and Curaçao were much frequented.⁹⁷ Even British subjects at Kingston, Jamaica, had dealings with the privateers.⁹⁸ To these ports the raiders returned after cruises and made *rendezvous* with their prizes, sometimes not in the more frequented ports themselves but in lonely inlets in the vicinity, like the celebrated "Five Islands" near St. Barts.⁹⁹ Here the agents of the owners met the captains of their vessels and carried out with local merchants the complicated transactions by means of which they were able to realize on their cargoes.

The owner of the schooner *Cora*, a Massachusetts vessel usually engaged in the coasting trade, came to grief because of a speculation in the West Indies. Blown out of his course by a hurricane, he put into St. Barts and sought a return cargo for his lumber and provisions. Mr. Gibbs, a local merchant, offered him some sugar at a surprisingly low figure. The Yankee must have suspected the reason when he saw that all of the sugar had been transferred from the long boxes characteristic of Brazilian sugar to ordinary hogsheads. Whether dupe or accomplice, however, he lost his cargo on his return to the United States, for the court at New York returned it to the Portuguese consul.¹⁰⁰ A similar transaction got William Nichols, master of the brig *Alonso*, into trouble.¹⁰¹ These two cases illustrate the way in which much of the prize goods reached the United States. The changing and erasing of shipping marks and containers was an essential part of this business as was the shipping of broken parts of a large cargo from place to place in the islands until it became impossible for any court to establish first origin of the goods.¹⁰²

Sometimes no effort was made actually to sell goods in the islands. A simulated sale would take place that served equally well to make possible an apparently innocent shipment from the West Indies in which the names of privateers did not figure on bills of lading.¹⁰³

Such expedients could not always be used, and not infrequently more barefaced attempts were made to introduce goods into the

⁹⁷ For use of neutral islands see: *D. Thompson vs. J. J. Vasques, Vasques vs. Goodwin, T. Stoughton vs. 416 Boxes, etc., A. R. N. Y.*; *Vasques vs. Cargo of the Fanny, John Goss vs. Wm. Foster et al., A. R. B.*; *U. S. vs. A. Sheed, Indictment, C. R. P.*

⁹⁸ *U. S. vs. Cargo of the Arizmendi, Dep. of Wm. King, A. R. B.*

⁹⁹ *Vasques vs. Goodwin, Dep. of J. Smith, Dec. 18, 1819, A. R. N. Y.*

¹⁰⁰ *Vasques vs. Cargo of Fanny, Dep. of J. Moulton and Chas. Allardyce, May 15, 1819, A. R. N. Y.*

¹⁰¹ *Vasques vs. Cargo of Alonso, Libel, Apr. 24, 1819, A. R. N. Y.*

¹⁰² See *Vasques vs. Goodwin, A. R. N. Y.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

United States.¹⁰⁴ Many cases have been recorded where cash was smuggled ashore from privateers in the Chesapeake.¹⁰⁵ One ship was caught smuggling Negroes recently captured from a Portuguese slaver into Maryland.¹⁰⁶ Several were caught by the revenue authorities while attempting to land cargoes from small boats in secluded corners of the bay, and on at least one occasion they had so far succeeded as to be discovered only after the goods were already in a warehouse on land.¹⁰⁷ Other vessels were scuttled or blown up after removing the most valuable part of their cargoes.¹⁰⁸ One ship was captured while cruising off the coast of New England, doing a thriving business with fishing craft to whom she sold West Indian produce cheap until finally captured for smuggling.

Two actual cases of cargo disposal illustrate the general statements made above. The first is that of the brig *Athenian*, which, under the alias of *New Republicana*, returned to the West Indies after a successful voyage and made contact with five prizes taken during the cruise at the Five Islands near St. Barts. The names of the prizes were the *Luisa*, *Nymph*, *Paquete de Oporto*, *Don Pedro de Alcántara*, and *Don Miguel Pereira Forja*. The *Luisa* and the *Nymph* which arrived first at Five Islands were surprised by a pirate while in the act of transferring their cargoes to smaller boats for transfer to St. Barts. Admiral Brion of the Venezuelan service recaptured the prizes and surrendered them to Robert M. Goodwin, the owner of the *New Republicana*, in return for a salvage allowance. The cargoes were valued at \$35,000 each.

The contents of the *Don Pedro de Alcántara*, a rich prize valued at \$200,000, were also transferred to various other vessels, including another privateer owned by Goodwin which no longer had a licence. After a fictitious sale and a change of name it now served to transport goods. In this latter vessel the owner, Goodwin, went to St. Thomas, consigning the goods to a merchant of that port named Souffron. Part of the cargo was sold here and the rest shipped to Baltimore from St. Thomas on board at least three different vessels. The fourth prize, the *Pereira Forja*, was stolen by the prize crew placed aboard her and never came to Five Islands. It was disposed

¹⁰⁴ U. S. *vs.* G. Brownell, Indictment, Oct., 1819, C. R. P.; Vasques *vs.* Sundry Bales Cotton, Libel, Sept. 28, 1818, A. R. N. Y.; Renguenet *vs.* *Fortuna*, Dep. of Burke, July 25, 1819, A. R. P.; the above are characteristic cases.

¹⁰⁵ Vasques *vs.* Cargo of *Rainha dos Anjeis*, A. R. B.

¹⁰⁶ U. S. *vs.* Forde, Dep. of John Dameron, May 10, 1820, C. R. B.

¹⁰⁷ U. S. *vs.* Cargo of *Arizmendi* (a) *Perthshire*, A. R. B.

¹⁰⁸ J. J. Holland *vs.* *Fortuna*, Libel, Jan. 14, 1819, A. R. P.; U. S. *vs.* Sundry Dry Goods, Cargo of *Sophie*, Dep. of Robert Ross, A. R. B.

of by the mutineers at St. Johns and subsequently sold to a merchant of St. Thomas, M. François. Though previously valued at over \$80,000 the mutineers only got \$35,000 with which they escaped successfully to the United States. Two of them set up a new steam ferry at Norfolk, indicating an interesting connection between robbery on the high sea and the improvement of steam navigation. At this time both enterprises were highly speculative. The *Paquete de Oporto* was also stolen and disposed of at some point on the Main. This bare recital indicates the uncertainty of profit even if captures were made.¹⁰⁹

Another interesting case was that of the *Paz*, alias *Patriota*, the unsuccessful mutiny on which has previously been described. In March, 1817, under Captain Stafford the *Patriota* captured a Spanish polacre named *Santa Maria* with a valuable cargo of sugar. Several months later the Spanish consul at Baltimore libelled the cargo of the schooner *Harriott* and two other vessels, the *Evening Post* and the *Amathea*, claiming that they had brought the cargo of the missing *Santa Maria* into port. The owner of the *Harriott*, D. Burke, claimed that he had made a regular commercial voyage from Baltimore to Cumaná in Venezuela, thence to Galveston and Matagorda Bay in Texas where the outgoing cargo was partly sold and a return freight loaded, further than which he knew nothing. The consignee of this cargo, a Mr. Laborde of Baltimore, also claimed the goods and denied all the allegations of the libel. The fact that Laborde was an intimate of several Spanish American envoys and propagandists then in the United States throws some doubt on his denial. Court proceedings brought to light the fact that the privateer *Patriota* had proceeded with two prizes, one of which was the *Santa Maria*, to Galveston via the Balize. The other prize was wrecked off the Texas coast but the *Santa Maria* reached its destination, then controlled by Lafitte, who had succeeded Luis Aury as leader of the so-called Mexican privateers. Witnesses had noted the transshipment of sugar from the *Santa Maria* to two other small vessels in the roadstead and the erasure of shipping marks on the containers. The property was turned over to the Spanish consul but the case was appealed on a technicality.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ For the *New Republican* see various documents in *Vasques vs. Goodwin*, 1819, A. R. N. Y. Additional data in *James Brundage vs. Thos. Vose and Wm. Wellington*; *Vasques vs. Cargo of Fanny*, J. José *et al. vs. C. Cathell, et al.*, A. R. B.

¹¹⁰ *J. Zamorano vs. Cargo Santa Maria*, Libel, June 7, 1817; *Zamorano vs. J. Laborde*, Libel, June 27, 1817; *Zamorano vs. Sundry Mdse.*, Dep. of T. Reagan, Claim of Burke, of Laborde, all dated June, 1817, A. R. B.

VI

Before bringing this paper to its conclusion it may be well to trace the career of a typical Baltimore privateer from beginning to end. A much more interesting narrative could be contrived by fitting together details from the records of various ships, but it will perhaps be more useful to give the story of a single vessel, the brig *Fourth of July*. The ship was built on the Eastern Shore of Maryland in the shipyard of Mr. Hathaway, in 1816. Captain Thomas Taylor, previously mentioned as the initiator of privateering under the Buenos Aires flag from Baltimore, superintended her construction and equipment. The brig was the first venture of the "American Concern." Taylor had already despatched the *Romp* and the *Orb* and he himself planned to command the *Fourth of July*. A crew was contracted for with Robert Ling, who, with other boarding house masters and crimps such as Peter Stevens and Murray, shipped twenty hands on board the vessel at Baltimore on December, 1816. With these few men and under the nominal command of Tobias Watkins the *Fourth of July* dropped down the Patapsco to the Chesapeake. Off Annapolis 31 additional hands were brought aboard from a small schooner and the ship's armament of twelve 18-pounders and one long 32-lb. swivel gun was mounted. The brig then proceeded to Hampton Roads where additional seamen were taken on from Norfolk, making a total varying according to accounts from 90 to 140.

At this point the pretense of being a peaceful merchantman was definitely abandoned. Captain Taylor who had been on board from the beginning of the voyage and who had created a stir among the crew by offering \$30,000 to the man or men who would decoy the Spanish consul at Baltimore aboard the vessel, now took command. Watkins, the nominal master, served as second officer, the chief mate being one Thomas Bass. The vessel adopted the *nom de guerre* of *El Patriota* and hoisted the Buenos Aires ensign of white and sky-blue stripes.¹¹¹

The cruise began off the Delaware, but as news came that no Spanish ships were then in Philadelphia the privateer sailed for the West Indies. Here Taylor fell in with a Mexican privateer with which he cruised, taking several small prizes. On one occasion off the Cuban coast they stopped an American brig, the *Gazelle* of Phila-

¹¹¹ On the *Fourth of July* see various documents in U. S. *vs. Fourth of July*, A. R. B.; Vasques *vs. U. S.*, T. Stoughton *vs. T. Taylor*, A. R. N. Y. There is no reason to believe that Tobias Watkins referred to above was the Baltimorean of the same name who later held federal office.

delphia, in which they suspected there was Spanish property. The Frenchman in command of the Mexican vessel tortured one of the passengers and elicited a confession that part of the *Gazelle's* cargo was Spanish. The owner was forced to pay a ransom of \$15,000, which was brought from shore by a small boat, before the *Gazelle* was allowed to continue her voyage. Subsequently Taylor and the Frenchman fell out over the division of the spoils and parted company.¹¹²

The *Patriota*, now cruising alone, took several prizes, including a Spanish brig worth \$30,000. The plunder from the smaller ships was sent partly to Baltimore and partly to the Venezuelan port of Juan Griego, where the privateer followed. While there Taylor secured from Admiral Brion a Venezuelan commission which regularized (?) the condemnation of the small prizes he had already sent into the port. The cruise as a whole was not very lucrative and his crew was in a mutinous frame of mind. Taylor decided, therefore, to return to his base to refit before proceeding further. Returning to the Delaware he exchanged his crew for a new one and took on provisions off Norfolk, but did not enter any American port.¹¹³

The next cruise to Buenos Aires was uneventful. The privateer made no prizes. Taylor had gained a reputation as a hard master and he found difficulty in preventing his crew from melting away while in the Argentine city. Finally, after it had been announced that the next cruise was to be a short one and that there would be a different commander, enough men were rounded up to set out again. The new captain was John O. Chase, whose luck was to prove superior to that of Taylor. Under the new name *Enemy of Tyrants* the privateer set out from Buenos Aires in March, 1818.¹¹⁴

Off the port of Montevideo the *Enemy of Tyrants* was fired on by a Portuguese warship. Whether prompted by this, or more probably because he had a greater expectancy of Portuguese than of Spanish prizes during the long voyage up the coast of Brazil, Chase mustered the crew and informed them that the ship was once more to change its name and would hereafter be known as the *Fortuna*, as the vessel was styled in the commission he had obtained from the government of Artigas.¹¹⁵

¹¹² U. S. *vs.* *Fourth of July*, Deps. of S. Morling and H. Allen, A. R. B.

¹¹³ Stoughton *vs.* Taylor, Affidavit of Thornton, Aug. 26, 1818, A. R. N. Y.

¹¹⁴ Vasques *vs.* 80 Bales Cotton, Dep. of Murray, Oct. 20, 1818, A. R. N. Y.

¹¹⁵ The third cruise of this vessel is described in the two depositions of Murray cited above, note 112, and in Vasques *vs.* Cargo of the *Rainha dos Mares*, Dep. of John Moffat, Mar. 2, 1819, and Vasques *vs.* Cargo of the *Don João Sexto*, Dep. of John Henry, Oct. 19, 1818, A. R. N. Y.

Under these auspices Chase had a successful cruise, overhauling and plundering over twenty Portuguese merchantmen. Most of them were merely plundered of specie and the more valuable objects on board, but a few of the richest ships were manned by prize crews and ordered to the West Indies: the *Don João Sexto*, the *Monte Alegre*, the *Rainha dos Angeis*, and the *Vasco de Gama*. Chase also took some alleged Spanish property on a French ship.¹¹⁶

The *Fortuna* finally made the Chesapeake in the summer of 1818 and Chase boarded a passing pilot boat for Baltimore with the more than \$100,000 in cash which he had amassed, which he proceeded on arrival to deposit in two of the principal Baltimore banks, the Marine Bank and the Union Bank.¹¹⁷ The *Fortuna*, meanwhile, was ordered to cruise within the capes and to seek fresh provisions. A few days later Chase rejoined her and superintended the transshipment of the remaining cargo to a schooner named the *Cuba* owned by the "American Concern" on which he proceeded to St. Thomas for the purpose of disposing of it there to best advantage. The now empty privateer was put under the command of John Clark, the mate, and ordered to Baltimore to refit. No sooner had it arrived in port than it was involved in lengthy litigation and no longer played any active part in privateering. In its short period of activity this vessel made three cruises under four captains, Watkins, Taylor, Chase and Clark, and used three different flags, Buenos Ayrean, Venezuelan and Uruguayan. As for the prizes, two of them disobeyed orders and came to the United States. The *Monte Alegre* was captured by revenue officers attempting to unload her valuable cargo. The *Don João Sexto* came to Beaufort, North Carolina, where it managed to transfer its cargo to various coasting schooners which took it to New York and other ports, in each case meeting with attachment by the courts.

Thus was privateering carried on from the Baltimore, during the years 1816 to 1821. By the latter date it had practically come to an end. The paralysis of Spanish maritime commerce, the virtual end of fighting and the certainty of a patriot victory in the Spanish American War of Independence, and the stricter neutrality and anti-piracy laws of the United States, tended to discourage this activity. The Buenos Aires government, under pressure from the United States, gave up the issuance of privateering licences. The Artigas regime in Uruguay was overthrown by the Portuguese, and privateering was

¹¹⁶ See *Vasques vs. Monte Alegre, Rainha dos Angeis, Vasco de Gama and Don João Sexto*, A. R. B.

¹¹⁷ *Vasques vs. Bullion deposited in Marine and Union Banks Libel*, Sept. 12, 1818, *Claim of Chase*, Sept. 15, A. R. B.

only carried on by a few Colombian vessel and by Chilean ships in the Pacific, but with these the port of Baltimore had little or nothing to do.¹¹⁸

Although the activities described here were not long continued and did not compare in importance with more regular branches of Baltimore maritime business, they are significant as an example of the initiative and daring, coupled with disregard for the niceties of law, with which a part of the community met the pressure of these critical years. In large measure privateering under the "patriot" flags made possible a gradual demobilization of the swarm of privateers which made Baltimore famous in the War of 1812.

Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

¹¹⁸ A few ships were active even later. The *General Santander*, a Colombian privateer out of Baltimore was involved in litigation in 1823. After 1824, too, there was a revival of this activity, this time on an even less respectable basis under color of letters of marque issued by the Buenos Aires government during its war with Brazil, 1824-8. Baltimore's part in this business is another story.

THE ROSE CROFT IN OLD ST. MARY'S

By HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN

Upon the threshold of the Rose Croft plantation one enters a garden where fact and fancy have long met and intermingled. One reason for this curious *mélange* is the isolation of the place, and another is the gap in the historic records. For the very seclusion of the Rose Croft and its bowers has caused the estate to become a thing apart in this hedgeless world, and therefore a haven of romance. The *croft*, as the Anglo-Saxons once called a farm, is situated in the far-away city of St. Mary's, the oldest settlement of Maryland, and at the furthest extremity of pine-bordered Mattapany Street, the first highway of this Province. It lies sequestered upon a headland carrying the bygone name of St. Inigoes Neck, and even the town, of which it is a part, seems remote.

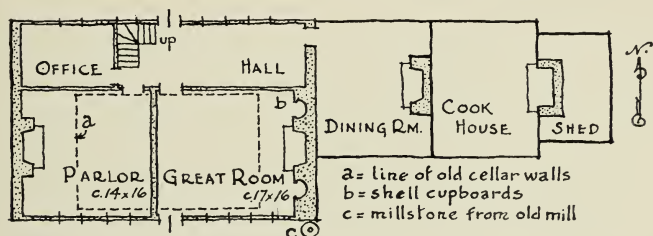
Fancy steps in where truth cannot find a way. So it was that the writer John Pendleton Kennedy fell in love with the Rose Croft and St. Mary's a little over one hundred years ago, and told of the beautiful Blanche Warden who lived with her father in the Rose Croft mansion.¹ Among the trellised gardens there, she developed a strong affection for the dashing secretary of Lord Baltimore, who on his part returned this deep devotion. It was a pretty romance, but historically there is no record of a Blanche Warden having lived there. But no matter—Kennedy was merely expressing the spirit of the plantation, and besides, who can deny that a lass like Blanche dwelt there some time during the three hundred and one years of the history of the Rose Croft?

The value of Kennedy's description for the purposes of this article is primarily archaeological, for he bequeathed suggestions as to the appearance of the Rose Croft dwelling of the eighteenth century. It appears that there have been two houses on this site before the present modern structure. The first house was very probably built in the seventeenth century, but was not known as the Rose Croft, since the name was a local designation of later date.² This building was erected on that Town Land of the great Chapel Freehold known as St. Inigoes Neck and granted in 1639 to Mr. Ferdinand Poulton.³

¹ *Rob of the Bowl* (1838), by J. P. Kennedy.

² *Ibid.*, 88: "This homestead had obtained the local designation of the Rose Croft."

³ St. Inigoes Neck, part of the Chapel Freehold, comprised one hundred and twenty acres. Annapolis, Liber AB&H, folio 66; Liber 1, folio 117; Rent Rolls. Note that in early times the Jesuit priests were referred to in the records as "Mr."



c. 1940 H. Chandlee Forman

THE ROSE CROFT MANSION-HOUSE

Top: A reconstruction drawing by the writer of the house (river front) and floor plan of the eighteenth century.

Bottom: A copy made by the writer of a photograph of the house taken after the alterations of the 1860's, by courtesy of the owners, Mr. and Mrs. C. M. Robinson.



The other portions of this Chapel Freehold comprised St. Mary's Hill, where Poulton had a house, and the Chapel Lot, where "St Maries Chapell," the first English Roman Catholic church in this country, was built in the form of a Latin cross.

After the accidental shooting of the Jesuit Poulton, the Chapel Freehold passed to Mr. Thomas Copley, the priest whose grandfather fled to France to become knighted by a French king. Then, in 1641, Cuthbert Fenwick, Cornwaleys' attorney, came into ownership of the tract, and it probably was during the period which followed that the first house was built with the small cellar foundation, existing, like a vault, under the present structure at the Rose Croft. Indeed, it is difficult to see how the early settlers could have overlooked the placing of a building on such an important and commanding town site as that of the Rose Croft, where the two principal waterways, St. Mary's River and St. Ingoes Creek, join together.

The cellar brickwork of the first house is English statute brick laid up in the English bond, characteristic of buildings of the seventeenth century in this region. The two rooms of this basement are very small, one being nine and a half feet long, and both only fifteen feet wide. Evidently the house itself must have been one of the smallest in the Colony, and comparable to the first St. Peter's Key dwelling in St. Mary's City. Even the two rooms of little Resurrection Manor were three feet wider than those of this early cottage on the Rose Croft.

The second house, of which we present two illustrations,⁴ was erected to include the basement of the first. Its date of building may have been about 1706, although from the standpoint of architectural criteria the date of 1724 when Mary Van Sweringen held the premises is just as acceptable. At one time or another the Van Sweringens seem to have owned nearly every tract along the town bank of St. Ingoes Creek. The father of the family went by the name of "Monsieur" Garrett Van Sweringen, the former Sheriff

⁴The drawing of the second house at Rose Croft was based by the writer on 1) a study of the foundation of the first house; 2) a photograph of the second house after the upper storey had been raised; 3) the description in *Rob in the Bowl*; 4) a description of the floor plan, handed down from John Wales Kennedy, who occupied the second house; 5) a description of the second house and a plan given by Mrs. J. Spence Howard, who often visited the house before it burned. The approximate date "about 1706" was given by the owners of the Rose Croft, Mr. and Mrs. C. M. Robinson, who kindly gave permission to take measurements of the cellar. The dates of the alteration and burning of the house are based on Thomas, J. W., *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland* (1900), p. 53, and (1913), p. 47. A picture of the slave-quarters, still extant, is given in Kaessmann, B., *My Maryland*. The brick chapel was built by one of the orders of the Catholic Church. Porke Hall near St. Mary's City was much like the Rose Croft house. See the writer's *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, p. 316.

of the Dutch Colony on Delaware, who had, it may be recalled, publicly broken his sword against his knees after the capture of his settlement by the English. In St. Mary's City he owned (1672) the first State House in the Province, and when it burned, he had means sufficient to rebuild it with brick.⁵ Be that as it may, Mary Van Sweringen had a charming timber-framed house at the Rose Croft. The gable-ends were made of brick, and the roof was gambrel. Following the fashion of the eighteenth century, the mansion was too rooms deep. But the hallway, instead of running through from front to back as is customary, extended along the north side of the house. Behind the hall stairway was the little office. Facing the box garden and river were the parlor and "greate" room. The shell-carved cupboards in the "greate" room were much like those of "Sotterly," and the elaborate wainscot was painted blue. Although he made no note of these shell cupboards, Kennedy did mention the profusion of chiselled woodwork. On the east side of the house lay a wing containing dining room, "cook house" and shed. On the top of the roof was a small balcony or platform constructed as an observatory, from which vessels approaching the port of St. Mary's might be descried through the telescope.

About the Rose Croft mansion clustered a group of single storeyed out-houses, such as the brick chapel, the smoke house and the log slave-quarters. Kennedy recorded that one of these numerous out-buildings was appropriated at one time by the "Collector" for his business office, and could still be seen, a deserted ruin with decaying book-shelves. The "Collector" was evidently a reference to a revenue officer, who as a matter of history resided at the Rose Croft in 1776, and whose name was Daniel Wolstenholme. And with the entrance of this Collector upon the scene we reach the heart of our story.

When Wolstenholme came to the Rose Croft, he already had performed good services for Maryland. From 1754 to 1757 he was Agent in the Supply Bill for his Majesty's Service, and helped to support the ranging parties upon the western frontier of Maryland. In the records there is an item of eighty blankets which he supplied the rangers. As an Annapolis merchant he outfitted sloops to carry provisions to military forces in South Carolina. He also served as Clerk in Chancery, and signed in 1765 the "Resolutions" to repeal the Stamp Act.⁶

The outbreak of the American Revolutionary War saw him per-

⁵ Popularly known as the "Smith's Town House." Liber 20, folio 182.

⁶ *Maryland Archives*, XII, 100; XXXI, 203; LII, 488; Chancery Papers, 5783; *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVII, 88, 239.

forming the duties of Collector of His Majesty's Customs in the North Potomac District. In this capacity he no doubt used the captain's walk on the roof of the Rose Croft to espy approaching vessels for interception. Nevertheless, his task must not have been easy at this time, for he was a revenue officer loyal to the King and to royal Governor Eden of Maryland. On the excuse of ill health Wolstenholme succeeded in obtaining a passport with which to embark for England. On July 20, 1776, Eden wrote him at the Rose Croft that the Governor's ship was at his service for the journey to England. The St. Mary's Committee at Leonardtown unanimously approved a resolution that Wolstenholme be allowed to depart for Great Britain. Everything pointed to a successful embarkation.

Meanwhile various letters about the Collector were being sent back and forth. Major Thomas Price wrote the Council of Safety that he thought it advisable not to suffer the Collector to leave the Province, but Colonel Richard Barnes wrote that he thought Wolstenholme should be permitted to leave, especially since this gentleman was a man of honor and for several years had been anxious to go to England. "Upon demanding of him that he would say nothing to the prejudice of the Province," wrote Barnes, "he answered that he defied his worst enemy to say that he had ever done or said any thing inimical or that had a tendency that way, but that he would not be bound to any thing, but that the same principle which had ever been the rule of his actions, would govern his future conduct."

While waiting at the Rose Croft to depart, Wolstenholme had plenty of worries. The American troops and officers were stationed in his house, and he was virtually a prisoner. Moreover, on July 17, 1776, a British warship covered the Rose Croft mansion with her guns. Wolstenholme immediately complained to the Americans that his house and family had been in danger, because the British captain had not known who was the proprietor of the plantation.

In an angry tone Wolstenholme wrote Colonel Barnes: "I am far from disputing the General's authority [General John Dent of the Maryland forces] to receive or not to receive the flag [of truce], but I do deny that the military power hath any right to control that of the civil. If it has, the people of this province are as complete slaves as any in Turkey."

Unfortunately for Wolstenholme, when the British did send a ship's boat with a flag of truce to pick him up, the Americans prevented his leaving. As luck would have it, the ship's boat belonged not to Governor Eden's vessel, but to that of one Captain Montague, an officer who had already broken a truce off Annapolis, and there-

fore was *persona non grata*. The Council of Safety then ordered that no one could leave the Province. Times were changed, it said, since the granting of Wolstenholme's passport, and British men-of-war were openly invading the Province. The Collector thereupon sent word to Eden that he had been twice stopped from embarking by the Commanding officer at St. George's Fort, and that "no sinister events whatsoever shall ever shake those principles of honour becoming an officer in his Majesty's service."⁷

After these stirring weeks at the Rose Croft plantation, the customary quiet must have surged softly backward over the gardens and house. At the close of the eighteenth century the boxwood and the rose vines were no doubt well on the way to maturity. Into this tranquil scene stepped George Campbell and his wife Ann Biscoe. But a tragic spirit came to hover over the gardens, for these new owners were cut off from life in the bloom of their youth. The gravestones in the field at the Rose Croft state that George Campbell departed this life at the age of thirty-two on May 11, 1806, and that his wife Ann did likewise at the age of thirty on March 21, 1807. Their son, named for the King's Collector, was Daniel Wolstenholme Campbell.⁸

George Campbell appears to have been a lively young man. In 1799, at the age of twenty-five, he was involved in a romantic episode⁹ in St. Mary's City, and this event is fact, not fiction. On August 5 of that year, John Mackall, Jr., laid before the vestry of William and Mary Parish "a complaint against James Biscoe, George W. Campbell, Alexander McWilliams and Joseph Thomas for breaking & entering a vault in St Mary's Church Yard & exposing to publick view the corps taken therefrom on the 27th day of July last. The Vestry on taking the same under consideration are unanimously of the opinion that the act was illegal, indecent and immoral, & that the perpetration thereof must mean the censure of this body."

⁷ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XII, 87, 97, 99-103, 115, 139, 149.

⁸ The will of Ann Campbell at Leonardtown, Liber JJ#3, folio 146, mentions brother James Biscoe, son Daniel Wolstenholme Campbell, sister Judith Attaway Aderton and niece Eliza Ann Aderton. Ridgely, H. W., in *Historic Gravestones of Maryland and the District of Columbia*, states that there were two unmarked graves of Campbell children at the Rose Croft, and in *The Old Brick Churches of Maryland* that Daniel Wolstenholme Campbell lived in the spacious halls of the Rose Croft. In 1822, Daniel was elected a warden of William and Mary Parish.

⁹ The graveyard prank is given in the Vestry Proceedings of this parish, page 4, and the letter of McWilliams in Thomas, *op. cit.* Different versions of the story are given in Stanley's *Pilate and Herod* (1853), 16, where the men were under the influence of liquor and the corpse was that of Lady Ann Calvert; in Ridgely's *Old Brick Churches*, 46, where the dignitary and his wife crumbled to dust; and in Sioussat's article in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVII, 175, where a second entry into the vault by "young bloods at Rose Croft" is mentioned. This last was no doubt the 1799 entry.

Further details of this prank are given in a letter to his mother by McWilliams, one of the perpetrators. He wrote that after four hours of difficult work a leaden coffin, marked with the letters AL, was uncovered and found to contain the mummy of a lady who had turned as black as the blackest negro. The monogram, he thought, belonged to the wife of Sir Lionel Copley, first royal governor of Maryland.

It was in the decade of the 1860's that the main part of the Rose Croft house was altered by the addition of a full second story and attic. As may be seen in the accompanying photograph, porches with Victorian jig-saw brackets and a central gable with oculus were embodied in the revised structure. With these changes the Rose Croft declined into the vale of years, and during the ownership of an Englishman, Alexander Kennedy, finally met about 1900 that fate meted out to so much of our early architecture—destruction by fire.

Although the gambrel-roofed house crowned by the captain's eyrie has disappeared, much of the original gardens still remains. The odor of boxwood permeates the air, and, beating against the headland, the plashing tide makes faint murmurs in the bowers. The low, flower-spangled hedges of thorn, the clumps of rose trees, the rustic seats along the walks, the parterres and latticed sheds and vine-clad gateways are not all there now, but enough survives to make interesting a visit to this Rose Croft where history and romance meet.

BALTIMORE, A PIONEER IN ORGANIZED BASEBALL

By JOHN H. LANCASTER

Four years after General Lee surrendered at Appomattox, Baltimore, one of the nation's great trading centers, was in the throes of uneven recovery from the effects of the War. The Monumental City, made famous by its clipper ships and early railroads, had been, perhaps, the most hard-hit metropolis in the United States, but she was slowly shaking off the effects and was turning her face to the future. The year 1869 witnessed the arrival in the harbor here of the S. S. Baltimore, pioneer vessel of the North German Lloyd to ply between this city and Bremen. It was the year that George Peabody, famed merchant, died after founding and endowing an institute to bear his name. And it was the year in which the first important landmark in the development of organized, or professional, baseball in Baltimore occurred.

Baseball was then a very different game in its details from the sport as it is now known. It had been evolved from the English contest of cricket. Abner Doubleday was credited with the foundation of the sport in this country 101 years ago, but Alexander Cartwright drew up the first baseball square, or diamond, in 1845, and the New York Knickerbockers were the first group to form a nine-man team and play according to the rules as written by Cartwright.

At the conclusion of the Civil War, there were at least ninety-one amateur baseball clubs, spread along the Atlantic Coast. Twenty of these organizations were in Maryland. But these teams were composed of non-professional players, who lacked organization, such as Baltimore's Pastimes, who used to cavort about on the Madison avenue grounds, near North avenue. In 1869, the first professional nine was formed in Cincinnati. Known as the Red Stockings and managed by Harry Wright, this remarkable team, which never lost a game in sixty-nine, started a tour of the country from the Mississippi to the Atlantic and from the Gulf to the Great Lakes. Their noteworthy tour hurried the growth of professional baseball in the country, a growth in which Baltimore has played an outstanding role.

The Red Stockings stopped off in Baltimore on June 24, 1869, to meet the "Marylands," champions of the South. Playing on the Madison avenue grounds, the visitors defeated the locals, 47 to 7, in what *The Sun* reporter of that time described as an "exciting

game of baseball." The Marylands' team consisted of Hooper, Wilson, Cook, Goldsmith, Whittington, Kearl, Mincher, Armstrong and Lennon.

Since this important starting point, Baltimore has had a glorious tradition in the national game. It has held memberships in four major leagues—the old American Association of the eighties; the National League of the nineties; the American League in its infancy in 1901 and 1902, and the ill-fated Federal League, in 1914 and 1915. Two of the greatest teams ever assembled have been Baltimore teams. The old Orioles of Ned Hanlon won three consecutive pennants and twice placed second between 1894 and 1898. That team revolutionized baseball by introducing the scientific, or "inside," brand of play. From 1919 to 1925, Jack Dunn's International League Orioles brought seven straight pennant winners to the city. It was the outstanding minor league team in the game's history. Three of the men who got their start in Baltimore are now included among the twenty in baseball's Hall of Fame. They are John McGraw, third baseman on the National League Orioles and ten-times pennant winner as manager of the New York Giants; Willie Keeler, famous place-hitter at the turn of the century, who originated the saying "Hit 'em where they ain't," and "Babe" Ruth, whose phenomenal home-run slugging brought on the modern game.

FIRST PROFESSIONAL TEAMS

It was in 1871, the year when Ford's Theater was founded, and when Baltimore's population was 267,354, that the city began to lay the groundwork for its expansion and recovery. It was in the same year that the first organized league, known as the National Association of Professional Baseball Players, was founded. Playing out a schedule of about fifty games, this rather haphazard circuit was dominated in the main by the Boston Red Stockings and included the Philadelphia Athletics, the Chicago White Stockings, the Brooklyn Eckfords, the Forest Citys of Cleveland, the Washington Olympics, and the New York Mutuals.

Baltimore was not represented in the first year, but placed a team, called the Lord Baltimores, on the diamond in 1872. The locals fared pretty well for two years, ending third with 34 games won, 19 lost in 1872, and third again in 1873 with a record of 33 victories, 22 defeats. The line-up consisted of such players as Matthews and Brainard, pitchers; Graves, catcher; E. Mills, first base; Pike, second base; Radcliffe, shortstop; Higham, third base; Thomas Yorke, the star left fielder; G. Hall, center field; Fisher, right field. Others to

play at various times were W. White, McVey, Force, Craver, Warren, Dean, Gould, Bulaski, Snyder, Gerhardt, Manning and Ryan.

A hard-bitten lot of players, most of them wore moustaches. In 1874, the Lord Baltimores won nine straight and then began to lose game after game. Facetiously, the club was referred to as "The Mosquitoes." Later it was discovered that some of the men had been paid to throw the games, and the committee running the affairs of the league threw out the club's record. The final ranking of this team was last in an eight-club circuit. They won nine and lost 38. The revelation temporarily put baseball in Baltimore in a bad light and it was not until 1882 that organized baseball was able to return to the city, and then it came to stay. The National League, meanwhile, had been running seven years. The old American Association was organized to rival the National, giving the country two strong major leagues.

Harry Vonderhorst, Baltimore brewer, established a team in the six-club association as a means of selling beer to patrons in Union Park, at Huntingdon avenue (now Twenty-fifth street) near Greenmount avenue. The old double-decker wooden stands seated about 4,000 persons, had a large playing field and bleachers behind third base. All the last-place 1882 team could do in its abbreviated season was to win nineteen games from its rivals—the St. Louis Browns, Pittsburgh Alleghenys, Cincinnati, Louisville and Philadelphia.

Billie Barnie, famous old National League catcher with Brooklyn, brought his Atlantics to Baltimore in 1883, when the league was increased in membership to eight clubs. The New York Metropolitans and Columbus were added. With Barnie as manager, the team, known for the first time as the "Orioles," ended last with a record of 28 victories and 68 defeats, but, surprisingly, the Orioles made about \$30,000 for Owner Vonderhorst. The line-up that year consisted of Bob Emslie and Neagle, pitchers; Barnie, catcher; Stearns, first base; O'Brien, second base; Say, shortstop; McCormick, third base; Clinton, the team's best hitter, left field; Eggler, center field, and Rowe, right field. Adding three new infielders, Manning, Maccular and Sommer; two outfielders, Casey and Burns; a catcher, Traffley, and a pitcher, Henderson, Barnie's Orioles played better baseball in 1884 and ended sixth in a twelve-club league. The team won 63 and lost 44, ending only 11½ games behind the flag-winners, the Mets.

For the next two years the Orioles were again the association's doormat. The St. Louis Browns, only team now in the American League which has failed to win a pennant once, began its four-year

domination of the old association. But Barnie, looking to 1887, obtained Mat Kilroy, one of the greatest pitchers of the decade.

In that year baseball's rules were changed so that it required four strikes to put a batter out, and five balls to send the batter to first base. For a walk, or base on balls, the batter was credited with a hit. At the end of the season the rules were changed back to the present system of crediting the batter with a strike-out on three strikes, and a walk on four balls (and no time at bat in the batting averages). Despite these rule changes, Mat Kilroy overcame their ill-effects on the pitcher and compiled an amazing record in 1887. He pitched 69 complete games, only three short of the all-time mark of Charles ("Old Hoss") Radbourne. Kilroy won 46, lost 21 and tied two, making him far-and-away the best pitcher in the association's ten-year span. Baltimore's other hurler, Smith, won 26, lost 27 and tied three.

That was the day of "iron-men" pitchers, when a club only had two or three moundsmen. On this, the most notable of Barnie's teams (it ended third with a record of 77 successes, 58 defeats), were the following performers: Tommy Tucker, 1b., who led the association's batters two years later with a .373 average; Greenwood, 2b.; T. P. Burns, ss., who hit .401 in 1887; Shindle and Davis, 3b.; Joe Owens and Sommer, 1f.; "Mike" Griffin, a .368 batter, cf.; "Blondy" Purcell, rf.; Sam Trott and Fulmer, catchers, and Bob Emslie, the third pitcher.

The great Mat lost some of his effectiveness next year, and with his slump went the Oriole team, dropping to fifth spot with a record of 57 won, 81 lost. Again in 1889 the Orioles won 70, lost 64, to wind up in fifth place. For the major portion of the 1890 campaign, the local nine participated in a new minor league, the Atlantic Association. The Orioles had left the American organization because of difficulties with the St. Louis club, which had dominated the circuit. The minor league consisted of New Haven, eventual pennant winner, Newark, Lebanon, Harrisburg, Wilmington, Washington and Hartford.

By August 27, the Orioles were way out in front with 77 victories, 23 defeats. The line-up included Lester German and Tim O'Rourke, pitchers; Townsend, catcher; Tate, 1b.; Power, 2b.; Ray, ss.; Hill, 3b.; Sommer, 1f.; Long, cf.; McGucken, rf. But a vacancy occurred in the American Association, when the last-place Brooklyn club withdrew, and Baltimore returned to finish out the schedule. When the final Atlantic Association figures were compiled New Haven was awarded the flag on a record of 81 victories, 35 setbacks, or .072

percentage points lower than Baltimore's record—so this was the Orioles' first unofficial pennant.

In the last year of the American Association, 1891, Baltimore ended third under Billie Barnie's leadership, the team winning 71 and losing 64 games. Three of the finest players of that era had joined the Orioles by this time. A 120-pound, snub-nosed youngster, John McGraw, born eighteen years before in Truxton, N. Y., was playing right field in his first year of professional baseball. George Van Haltren, the team's leading hitter with a .317 average, later compiled a good record of batting over .300 for twelve years of major league competition. "Sadie" McMahon, one of the greatest of the old-time pitchers, was ranked seventh in the association in effectiveness that year.

Thus the old association passed into history, but it had left its mark on baseball. Many innovations that aided in the bringing on of the modern game had been instituted. The first double-header (two games being played in one day) in the history of the game had been played at Baltimore between the Orioles and Indianapolis on October 4, 1884.

Turnstiles were introduced; the rule, stating that a runner would be declared out when hit by a batted ball, was adopted; the pitching distance was lengthened from 45 to 50 feet, and in 1893 to the present distance of 60 feet, 6 inches. Regularly salaried umpires for one league were adopted by the association. The percentage system to determine the standing of the teams was instituted. Color regulations for stockings of the various teams were begun. Baseball gloves, introduced for catchers in 1875, were used more extensively. And the reserve clause, permitting clubs to hold onto certain players from one season to the next, was put into effect.

Also in 1884, the Union Association was formed and lasted only for that year. This league was organized with the intention of providing players with an opportunity to run their own affairs and Baltimore placed a team in the six-club circuit. It ended in third place with a record of 56 triumphs, 48 defeats. Its line-up included Levis, Phelan, Say, Robinson, Seery, O'Brien, J. Sweeney, Stanley, Fuselbach and W. J. Sweeney. But the league went under, proving what is now an axiom, that ball players are unable to run their own affairs.

NATIONAL LEAGUE CHAMPIONS

While baseball was getting its foothold during the eighties, important changes were taking place in Baltimore. The cultural dreams

of some of the city's wealthy merchants had become realized in the founding of the Johns Hopkins University, Hospital and Medical school; the Peabody Institute for music and art; the Walters Art Gallery and the Enoch Pratt Library. The city's limits had been extended, rapid transit had been introduced and railroad transportation improved, the harbor had been deepened, and political reformation was in the air.

The National League decided to increase its membership from eight to twelve clubs in 1892, picking up many American Association players and several of the teams. The clubs included Boston, New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Louisville, Cincinnati and Baltimore. For this one season, the schedule was divided into two championship races.

Billie Barnie left Owner Vonderhorst shortly after the season opened to become manager of the Louisville club, and Vonderhorst appointed George Van Haltren pilot for the first Baltimore nine in the oldest major circuit. Soon it was apparent that George was getting nowhere in particular—his team was a poor last—and by midseason Edward ("Foxy Ned") Hanlon was obtained from Pittsburgh as the field manager.

The man who was to bring to Baltimore its golden age in baseball was well qualified for his task. One of the shrewdest minds ever to be associated with the game, Hanlon was born in Montville, Conn., in 1857. He rose to the majors by the early eighties as an outfielder for the Detroit Tigers. He was field captain of their 1887 pennant-winning club but moved on to Pittsburgh that fall. Ned went on the globe-circling baseball tour with Albert G. Spaulding in the winter of 1888-89.

He found upon arrival in the Monumental City a team floundering in last place, but was keen enough to see that the club had possibilities. The team then lined up with: Stovey, 1b; McGraw, 2b; Cross, ss; Shindle, 3b; Van Haltren, the leading hitter with a .342 average, 1f; Daly and Ward, fielders; Wilbert Robinson, fat, jolly, hard-hitting catcher of 28 years; "Sadie" McMahon, "Voiceless Tim" O'Rourke, George Cobb and Schmidt, pitchers. Cobb lost 39 games in that first season—somewhat of a record.

Hanlon determined upon several immediate changes. Adding O'Rourke to the deal that sent Barnie to Louisville, Ned was able to procure Hugh Ambrose Jennings, one of the finest shortstops ever to play. Hanlon swapped Van Haltren to Pittsburgh for Joe Kelley, still alive and living in Baltimore, and \$2,000 to boot. Joe, later called "the kingpin of the Orioles," was considered the best all-

around natural ball player on the team. He could hit, field, throw and run with the best of them.

This team was slowly beginning to find itself and improved its standing in the 1892 race in the second half by closing in tenth spot. In the 1893 campaign, the Orioles won 60, lost 70 to close in eighth place in the twelve-club circuit. Hanlon had made some other changes in the meantime.

One of his oldest friends, Danny Long, had advised him to procure several of the stars of the California League, so Ned signed up Billy Clarke, a catcher; Henry Reitz, 2b; Treadway, outfielder, and McNabb. He also purchased from St. Louis Steve Brodie, a native of Warrenton, Va., something of a clown who turned out to be one of the finest of the old-time outfielders.

Ned had one more important deal to make before the 1894 season opened. He sent Shindle and Treadway to Brooklyn for two brilliant players, Dan Brouthers and Willie Keeler. Brouthers was an aging first-baseman, who could pound the ball with terrific force, having led the National League in batting on four different occasions—Keeler was then only 22 years old, 5 feet 6 inches in height and weighed 140 pounds. But Ned Hanlon saw that the little fellow was ready to embark on a great career. Thus "Foxy Ned" completed a shrewd job of team construction.

He was now owner of the Orioles, too, having purchased the controlling stock from Vonderhorst in 1893. So it was Hanlon's team, and his alone, that went south in the spring of '94 to start training for the pennant-race. It was at this camp that "Foxy Ned" and his players worked out some of the most revolutionary steps of the era, as far as baseball was concerned. The Orioles devised the hit and run play; bunts; sacrifice hits; base-stealing and place hitting. These innovations, later known as "inside baseball," revolutionized the game. Where it had previously been stereotyped, even "round-house," baseball now became scientific and colorful. Daring and dash, the taking of all sorts of chances on the diamond to win the game, replaced the old set plays of the eighties.

This club has been rated by baseball experts, old and young, among the greatest of all time. It ranks with the famous Chicago Cubs of Frank Chance (1906-10); McGraw's Giants from 1911 to '13 and later from 1921 to '24; the three great New York Yankee teams of Miller Huggins and Joe McCarthy (1921-23, 1926-28 and 1936 to the present day); Connie Mack's old Philadelphia Athletics (1910-14) and modern nine (1929-31) and the old Detroit Tigers of Hughie Jennings (1907-09).

But of all those outstanding teams two played the most important rôles in the development of the national game. The Orioles from 1894 to 1898 inaugurated the scientific brand of play, where one-base hits and stolen bases were a premium. Huggins' Yankees of the late twenties changed the emphasis to its present form of outright slugging, seeking home runs, to produce the victory. Ned Hanlon deserves the credit for the first change, Babe Ruth for the second. Both are Baltimoreans.

Following is the record of the Orioles in the Golden Age of Baltimore baseball:

1894—first pennant: won 89, lost 39, percentage .695.

(lost Temple Cup series to New York)

1895—second pennant: won 87, lost 43, percentage .669.

(lost Temple Cup series to Cleveland)

1896—third pennant: won 90, lost 39, percentage .698.

(won Temple Cup series from Cleveland)

1897—placed second: won 90, lost 40.

(won Temple Cup series from Boston, the pennant winners)
(Series, forerunner of World Series, then abandoned)

1898—placed second: won 96, lost 53.

1899—placed fourth: won 86, lost 59.

The batting and pitching averages of the Orioles from 1894 to 1897 follow:

Player	Position	1894	1895	1896	1897
Dan Brouthers,	1b.....	.344	(a).289	...	...
George Carey,	1b.....	...	.271	...	...
Jack Doyle,	1b.....	...	...	.345	.356
Henry Reitz,	2b.....	.306	.281	.283	.289
Bill Gleason,	2b.....	...	.323	...	...
Hugh Jennings,	ss.....	.332	.386	.397	.353
John McGraw,	3b.....	.340	.374	.356	.326
Joe Kelley,	lf.....	.391	.370	.370	.389
Steve Brodie,	cf.....	.369	.365	.365	(b)
Willie Keeler,	rf.....	.367	.394	.392	(*) .432
Jake Stenzel,	cf.....	...	...	...	.351
Wilbert Robinson,	c.....	.348	.264	.354	.313
Bill Clarke,	c.....	.270	.297	.290	.274
Frank Bowerman,	c.....	...	...	...	.323
F. Bonner,	util.....	.301	...	...	...
Quinn,	util.....	...	...	.249	.264
James B. Donnelly,	util.....	...	...	.330	...

(a) Traded to Louisville.

(b) Traded to Pittsburgh.

(*) Led league batters.

Pitchers	1894	1895	1896	1897
	W. L.	W. L.	W. L.	W. L.
John J. ("Sadie") McMahon..	25 — 8	10 — 4	11 — 9	.....
W. V. Hawke.....	16 — 9	.....	.....	.....
Bill Gleason.....	15 — 6	3 — 1	.....	.....
Charles Esper.....	9 — 2	10 — 12	13 — 5	.....
George Hemming.....	5 — 0	18 — 15	15 — 6	.....
Bill Hoffer.....	.....	29 — 8	28 — 6	22 — 11
Joe Corbett.....	.....	.....	3 — 0	24 — 8
Art Clarkson.....	.....	13 — 4	.....	.....
Jerry Nops.....	.....	.....	.....	19 — 5
A. Pond.....	.....	.....	16 — 7	19 — 8
Tim Mullane.....	7 — 6	.....	.....	.....
Inks.....	8 — 5	.....	.....	.....
Amole.....	.....	.....	.....	4 — 4
Blackburn.....	.....	.....	.....	2 — 3

In spite of their phenomenal achievements, such as compiling the highest team batting average (.328) in 1894 ever to be made by a pennant-winning team, the Orioles won their games in a manner that would shock one accustomed to Sunday School moral codes. For these moustachioed fellows, who never received more than \$2,400 for a six-months' season of tough physical labor, played because they loved the game, and most of all to win, no matter how the victory was obtained.

There was no ruling then as to a foul ball—now classified as a strike. So the old Orioles would foul 'em off regularly until they could wear down the opposing pitcher. They had the foul lines graded so that bunts would stay inside the limits of the diamond. They thought nothing of sliding into bases with spikes high—or of tripping a baserunner as he sped by. They had a different code from the modern ideas of sportsmanship, but they were smart and got away with it.

When they concluded their first championship season with a game in Washington, they were greeted by hundreds of Baltimore fans in the Capital City and escorted back on the train to the Monumental City. Firecrackers popped under the rails en route. A tremendous parade—estimated by the newspapers of the 1894 days at five miles in length—formed at the Camden Station and marched the victorious champs to the Fifth Regiment Armory. This grand celebration wound up in the evening at the Rennert Hotel, where the players, awkwardly dressed in evening clothes, were banqueted and toasted.

At the conclusion of the race, a post-championship series was held for the first time. W. C. Temple, of Pittsburgh, presented a cup to the team winning a four-out-of-seven series between the nines

ending first and second in the regular season's play. In 1894, the New York Giants, led by a fine pitcher, Amos Rusie, had placed in the runner-up spot. And the Giants whipped the Orioles four straight.

Aging Dan Brouthers moved on to Louisville early in the 1895 season, and George Carey was obtained to take his place. Henny Reitz, smooth-fielding second baseman, was hurt and replaced by Pitcher Bill ("Kid") Gleason. But the greatest outfield in the business before 1900 was operating smoothly as were Jennings and McGraw, and the Orioles had added Bill Hoffer, the league's top hurler for the next two years.

The Cleveland Spiders, paced by a powerful slugger in Jess Burkett, were the Temple Cup series rivals that year and won the series four out of five. Charlie Esper, an in-and-outer all season, won the only game for the Orioles, a 5 to 0 shut-out.

Hard-hitting Jack Doyle was added to the lineup in 1896 when Baltimore proved itself a real championship team. They won seven out of every ten games played during the regular season and went on to capture the Temple Cup in four straight games. Bill Hoffer, leading pitcher in the circuit for the second consecutive year, and Joe Corbett, whose brother Jim had beaten John L. Sullivan for the world's heavyweight boxing title, divided the pitching chores in the short series.

Steve Brodie went to Pittsburgh for the 1897 season, returning later, and was replaced in the trade by "Jake" Stenzel, a strong batter not so adept in the field as Brodie. This was the year that Willie Keeler batted a superb .432, bettered in National League history only by Hugh Duffy, who hit .438 with Boston three years before. Keeler smashed out 243 hits and scored 147 runs and ranked first in fielding for right fielders with a .970 average. But the Orioles were beaten out by two games by Boston for the pennant. In the deciding game, played September 27 at the doubledecker Union Park, the locals lost, 19 to 10. The Orioles partially made up for this defeat by winning the last of the four Temple Cup series from Boston, four out of five.

In 1898, the Orioles ended second behind Boston. Dan McGann was playing first base in place of Doyle; De Montreville was on second in place of Reitz; Brodie was back in center field; Corbett and Hoffer were gone. "Doc" McJames was the new ace of the hurling staff, aided by such pitchers as Jimmy Hughes, Maul, Kitson, Nops. Again Keeler, with a .379 batting average, led the league's hitters. At the conclusion of this season "Foxy Ned" Hanlon de-

terminated to break up his team. The reason was purely financial. According to Hughie Jennings, popular field captain, the Orioles had drawn well only in 1894 and 1895. They made \$50,000 and \$25,000 respectively in those two seasons. The team, he pointed out, was lucky to break even in 1896, despite the fact that it drew well on the road, and the 1897 financial returns from the trips were offset by losses in Baltimore. In 1898 baseball had a poor year at the box office everywhere.

So Hanlon took the cream of his Orioles to Brooklyn, where the team won pennants in 1899 and 1900. To the Superbas went Jennings, Keeler, Kelley, McJames and others. Only McGraw, Robinson and Brodie were left behind in Baltimore. John, then only 26, was placed in charge of the Orioles for the 1899 season, and Hanlon promised him support from the excess Brooklyn players.

McGraw proved an excellent manager, putting a fiery, fighting club on the field—and he often later numbered the achievement of ending fourth with a makeshift team as among his greatest accomplishments. Of the seven leading base stealers in the league that season, four were Orioles—Jimmy Sheckard, the leader with 76; McGraw, second with 73; Holmes and De Montreville. Baltimore fans were loyal to these Orioles and the season was a financial success. The line-up included La Chance, 1b; De Montreville, 2b; Keister, ss; McGraw, 3b; Harris, 3b; Fultz, 1f; Holmes, 1f; Brodie, cf; Sheckard, rf; Robinson, Smith and Crisham, catchers; "Iron Man" Joe McGinnity, one of the greatest of pitchers (sent to Baltimore by Brooklyn for further development), and Nops, Kitson and Howell, rounding out the pitching staff.

At the end of the season, the National League reduced its membership to eight clubs, dropping Baltimore and Washington, among others. Thus closed a brilliant era in local baseball. These Orioles were a famous aggregation of clever players, not only for their magnificent achievements in the nineties, but for what many of them were later able to accomplish in the baseball world. Hanlon was not merely a great manager, but he was a developer of others, who later outdid their master in some respects as managers in their own right.

John McGraw went on later to the New York Giants, took over the reins of a last-place club, and developed it into a flag winner by 1904. Before he died in 1934, little John, later known as "Little Napoleon" or "Muggsy", had piloted teams that captured ten pennants—a record for managers. In his thirty years with the Giants, his teams also placed second eleven times; third, four;

fourth, twice, and out of the money only three times. McGraw developed such great players as Christy Mathewson, whom he changed from a first-baseman into perhaps the greatest pitcher of all time; Frank Frisch, Mel Ott, Fred Merkle, Carl Hubbell, Jimmy Sheckard, Fred Lindstrom, Larry Doyle, George Wiltse, Milt Stock, Hank Gowdy, George Burns and numerous others.

Hughie Jennings, whose battle cry of "E-e-yah" had made him famous as a player, was the most popular of the "Knights of the Diamond"—the old Orioles. The hard-working, intelligent red-head had studied law while playing in Baltimore. And he was associated with twelve championship clubs before his death a few years back. From 1907 to 1909, Hughie managed the Detroit Tigers, in the days of Ty Cobb (baseball's outstanding hitter), to consecutive pennants and remained at Detroit until 1920. From 1921 to 1925, Hugh was a coach on the four-times champion Giants.

Wilbert Robinson, easy-going and witty fellow, but a keen handler of pitchers, had been a powerful hitter in his day, compiling a .380 average from 1886 to 1902. "Uncle Robby," as he was later called, set a baseball record when he hit seven straight times safely in one game on June 10, 1892. He later managed the Brooklyn Nationals from 1914 to 1931 and won pennants two years. He is credited with the development of Joe McGinnity, "Rube" Marquard and "Dazzy" Vance—three of baseball's finest hurlers. Robinson died in Atlanta in 1934 and was buried, as was McGraw, in Baltimore.

Willie Keeler, whom McGraw once called "the fastest man going to first I've ever seen in my thirty years in baseball," was the game's most brilliant place-hitter. From 1894 to 1901 he scored over 100 runs and 200 hits in each season. He moved on from Brooklyn to play with the New York Yankees and Giants, before retirement in 1910. He died in 1923 in New York.

Walter Scott Brodie gradually drifted out of the game, in which he had performed so brilliantly. "Steve" was a superb outfielder, and would dazzle the fans on occasion by catching the ball behind his back, a feat never attempted nowadays. He later became for fourteen years an employe of the Baltimore Park Board, and died only five years ago.

Ned Hanlon was to return to Baltimore and carve his name more indelibly into the annals of the city. He left Brooklyn in 1904 and later managed Cincinnati in the National League, retiring in 1906. At that time he was the richest man to leave the game. He had invested money in real estate in Pittsburgh, Baltimore and Brooklyn and is said to have been worth about \$500,000. From 1916 until

his death in 1937, he was a member of Baltimore's Park Board, and its president after 1931.

AMERICAN LEAGUE PIONEERS

The action of the National League at the end of 1899 left Baltimore without a team in 1900. McGraw and Robinson were sold to DeHaas Robinson, of St. Louis, for \$10,000. John and Wilbert demurred, for they had a lucrative pool room business, called "The Diamond," on North Howard street.

But Harry Goldman, known as the "Judge" and one of Hanlon's "Eighteenth Degree Rooters" put a bee into their bonnets that was to have great repercussions in the baseball world. Up to this time Harry had been merely an interested fan, having dabbled in politics and worked at insurance. But he was about to become an important factor in the local baseball situation. It was Harry's idea that McGraw and Robinson go West and get in touch with Ban Johnson, a Cincinnati newspaperman who was running the Western Association, about the formation of a new major league. This was the spark of an idea. It appealed to McGraw, Robbie and Johnson, and resulted in the founding of the American League. For the next two years professional baseball was engaged in its first of two great wars.

The "Judge" told Mac and Robbie to sign up all the good players in the Western Association as well as in the National League during the 1900 season. Soon they had the majority of the good National League players signed to American League contracts. Meanwhile, the "Judge" was working in the East, and obtained Connie Mack's agreement to join the American Leaguers. A local committee was organized to hold stock in the Baltimore franchise. Sidney W. Frank was named president of the club and Harry Goldman, secretary-treasurer. The stockholders contracted with Henry Ripple to build for \$21,000 a new park, with a seating capacity of 5,000 on the south side of Twenty-ninth street at York road, opposite the present Oriole Park.

Manager John McGraw put a good team on the field, which won 68 and lost 65 during the season to end in fifth position. Chicago won the pennant and Boston, Detroit and Philadelphia were the other first-division clubs, while Washington, Cleveland and Milwaukee closed behind the Orioles. The team, with batting averages in parentheses, consisted of Jordan, 1b; Williams (.321), 2b; Keister (.328), ss; McGraw (.352—second in league), 3b; Jack Dunn (.247), infielder; Mike Donlin (.340), Cy Seymour (.302), Brodie (.310), Jackson (.247), Hart (.312) and Foutz (.232), outfielders;

Robinson (.298) and Roger Bresnahan (.262), catchers. "Iron man" Joe McGinnity headed the pitching staff, with 26 victories, 19 defeats. Nops with an 11-12 record, Howell with 14-21 and Foreman with 12-8, were the other pitchers.

John J. Mahon, Democratic boss of Baltimore, became president of the 1902 American League club here, but the team faltered badly, ending with 50 wins and 88 losses. John McGraw became involved in a heated scrap with President Ban Johnson over the umpiring—McGraw thought the arbiters were favoring other teams over the Orioles—and left in a huff for the New York Giants.

Mac took with him many of his stars including McGinnity. This amazing "Iron Man" was to compile an eleven-year major league pitching record of 251 wins, 131 losses. In one month, August of 1903, McGinnity was to do something that has never been equalled. He had a slow, easy underhanded delivery and could pitch all day. His greatest feat was to pitch and win three doubleheaders in a month—no other pitcher could ever accomplish that in the major leagues in a lifetime.

Mac's sudden withdrawal from the younger major circuit might have killed off the American League then and there. But Goldman sent a wire to Johnson, asking for more players. Each club shipped several men to Baltimore and the Orioles finished out the season. They were often called "The Loyal Orioles," and, although operated by the league never cost that circuit a cent, according to Goldman. This was quite an accomplishment as it required about \$150,000 then to run a ball team. Robinson finished out the season here as player-manager.

At the winter meetings that year, the two big leagues agreed to arrange their schedules so as not to conflict and provided for the playing of the World Series. In a secret session to which Goldman, though in the same New York hotel as the conferees, was not invited, Ban Johnson awarded the Baltimore franchise to a New York business man. The team became the Yankees. Again Baltimore, which provided life-blood to Brooklyn, the New York Giants and Yankees within the space of three years, was without a team.

Harry Goldman hurried back to Baltimore and got in touch with Charles Crane, then president of the Farmers and Merchants National Bank, and prepared to fight for a franchise. He secured from Pat Powers, president of the Eastern League (forerunner of the International League) an option to purchase the Montreal franchise for Baltimore, with the intention of placing that team in Washington and bringing the Washington club, then operated by a Detroit hotel

man, to Baltimore. Washington had been considered such a bad risk at the time that no Washingtonian would take charge. However, Ned Hanlon purchased Oriole Park from the American League club trustees "for a song," according to Goldman. The latter brought suit before Judge Harlan, asking that Hanlon's purchase price of \$3,000 for the park not be ratified. However, the sale went through and Goldman dropped out of the picture along with major league baseball until 1914.

ORIOLES BECOME MINOR-LEAGUERS

Hanlon and Sidney Frank had decided to place the Orioles in the old Eastern League, which became known as the International League in 1912. It was the oldest of all minor leagues and Baltimore has been associated with this circuit ever since, excepting for the season of 1915. It has a baseball rating of "AA," placing it just one classification below the major leagues and above the Class A, B, C, and D loops.

The hodge-podge team which the Orioles had on the field early in the 1903 season was faring badly, when Frank obtained Hughie Jennings as manager. Hughie soon had things in working order. The Orioles began playing heads-up baseball and wound up in fourth place with 71 victories, 54 defeats. In the succeeding two years Baltimore ended second, missing the pennant by two percentage points in 1905. That team won 82 and lost 47, while Providence, managed by Jack Dunn then, lost the same number of contests but won one more. In 1906, Hugh's last year here, the team ended third, winning 76, losing 61.

Jennings had developed some star players and had used some old fellows, too, for such was the purpose of the large minor circuits. It was an important feeder to the majors and also a stopping-off place for those players just beginning to slip.

Old Robbie caught seventy-five games in 1903 and was on the roster in 1904. He was helped and then supplanted by Hearne and big, 250-pound Byers. Steve Brodie played for a while here in 1903 but then moved on to Toronto and Rochester. Wiltse, Fred Burchell, and a large, roly-poly medical student, Merle T. Adkins, were the ace pitchers on that 1903 club. Later Mason and McNeil were added and proved valuable pitchers. The 1905 team, that just lost out in the pennant dash, was as follows: Jordan (.312), 1b; Loudenslager (.266), Mullen (.261), Neal (.280), Jennings (.251), infielders; Hayden (.237), Rothgeb (.269), Kelly (.267) and McAleese (.285), outfielders, and Byers (.325) and Hearne (.302),

catchers. Fred Burchell led the pitchers with a 24-10 win-and-lose record, "Doc" Adkins had 18-9, as did McNeil, and Mason won 18, while losing 11.

Hughie Jennings left at the end of 1906 to manage the Detroit Tigers. In an interview later, he said that he had invested \$3,600 in the club and pulled out after having never drawn a dividend. Declaring himself "lucky to break even," Hughie described Baltimore of that period as "about the worst baseball town on the map."

Hanlon became owner of the club and obtained Jack Dunn, the greatest of minor league managers of all time, to run the team. Jack, a shrewd business man with a keen knowledge of the game, was famed not only as a pilot of winning teams—he loved a winner and would do anything to get one—but he also was noted for his ability to develop high-priced stars.

Born in 1873 in Meadville, Pa., Dunn first played on the Bayonne, N. J., baseball nine. In 1895 he joined Binghamton in the New York State League and went up to the Brooklyn Superbas as a pitcher two years later. After serving with the American League Orioles in 1901 as a third baseman, he played for the New York Giants, Boston Nationals and Syracuse before becoming manager of Providence in 1905. A thin, well-conditioned man, who never smoked or drank, Dunn was a fighter who drove his players hard. He rewarded them well if they won, giving them sizable bonuses, but frequently inflicted heavy fines on players who, he thought, were slack in their work. In his twenty-one years of managing Baltimore teams, Dunn was to have eight pennant winners, two second-place outfits, four third-place clubs, two that ended fourth, fifth and six respectively and one that closed in seventh position.

"Dunnie's" first club, the 1907 team, was not so strong, ending in sixth spot with 68 wins and 69 losses. Adkins won 20 and lost 11 to star on the mound and his big battery mate, Byers, hit .326 to lead the team's batters. This pair formed the heaviest battery in baseball—they weighed 500 pounds when placed on the scales together.

But in the following year the Orioles won their first Eastern League pennant. It was a year of sweet revenge for Baltimore, for the locals won 83 and lost 57 to nose out Providence by two games. "Doc" Adkins, with a degree from the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine safely tucked away among his possessions, turned in a great pitching year, winning 29 and losing 12, to literally hurl the Orioles to a pennant. McCloskey and Dessau helped out—and it took good twirling to win the pennant that year, for the Orioles had a poor

hitting team. Although Adkins won 21 and Dessau, 18, in 1909, the rest of the team collapsed and the Orioles went through their worst season under Dunn's guidance, ending seventh with a 67-86 won-and-lost record. During the off-season, Dunn paid Hanlon \$70,000 and became sole owner and manager of the Orioles. And then things began to hum for the Orioles.

In the decade of the World War, baseball had its second war which was to threaten the existence of the national sport. It was to threaten Jack Dunn in Baltimore, forcing him to remove his club in 1915 to Richmond. In this span of ten years, despite its ups and downs, Dunn was able to construct one great team and to lay the groundwork for his seven consecutive pennant winners.

The period from 1910 to 1914 was rather uneventful for the Orioles. The International League entry for Baltimore ended third, second, fourth, third and sixth respectively during those campaigns. Dunn stuck to his policy of developing stars and selling them at top prices to the majors. His teams generally consisted of fine pitching staffs and outstanding hitters.

A Baltimore boy, "Lefty" Russell, starred for the Orioles in 1910, winning 24 while losing 14, and striking out 219 batters. He was sold to the Philadelphia Athletics for a record price in that day of \$12,000. "Rube" Vickers, a hardy Michigan fireman, won 25 and lost 24 that same year and in the following season won 32 while dropping 14 contests. This iron man pitched and won several double-headers. A newcomer, Jimmy Dygert, won 25 and lost 15 in 1911.

Dunn developed a first-rate infield in the 1911 season, consisting of Charley Schmidt, first base; Freddy Parent, Rath, Corcoran and a local youngster, called the "Catonsville Flash," Fritz Maisel, who was sold to the New York Yankees in 1913 for \$12,000 and two players valued at \$6,000. In 1912, Dunn produced one of his finest outfielders with Jimmy Walsh (.354), chubby Jake Gettman (.344) and Eddie Murphy (.361) forming the trio.

By the spring of 1914, when European diplomacy was spinning headlong towards world catastrophe, Dunn assembled one of his greatest clubs. George Herman ("Babe") Ruth, a 20-year-old youngster of unusual power and ability, left St. Mary's Industrial School to join the team as a pitcher. By mid-season the Orioles were way out in front in the league race. The stars included: "Birdie" Cree, outstanding batter in the circuit with a .356 average, then receiving \$400 per month, the top salary in the league; "Gus" Gleichmann, Neal Ball, Freddy Parent, Isaiah Midkiff, Bert Daniels, George ("Cowboy") Twombly and Ben Egan, the catcher. Ruth

led the League's pitchers, winning 22, losing 9, although part of his record was compiled in the latter part of the season with Providence, where he was sent on option after being sold to the Boston Red Sox.

Meanwhile, a new movement in the baseball world had begun, which resulted in the formation of a third major league, called the Federal League. This started the second baseball war. Harry Goldman, ever hopeful for the return of big league baseball to Baltimore, returned to the scene by attending a meeting in Indianapolis in 1913 and received a franchise in the new league for the Monumental City. A corporation of Baltimore's leading citizens was organized and \$160,000 was raised to form the Terrapins, as the Baltimore Feds were known. The present Oriole Park, on the north side of Twentieth street at Greenmount avenue, was constructed at a cost of about \$90,000.

Otto Knabe, a National League second-baseman, was signed for \$30,000 for a three-year term to manage the Terrapins, and Carroll Rasin was named its president. Goldman, who had refused to become president of the league, became secretary. The Terrapins played well in the 1914 season to end third in a closely contested race with 84 triumphs, 70 losses. Indianapolis captured the flag and Chicago was runner-up. Other clubs were Buffalo, Kansas City, Brooklyn, Pittsburgh and St. Louis. The opening day crowd at the new Oriole Park was the largest ever to witness a professional baseball game in Baltimore—close to 30,000 attending. The players and batting averages follow: Swacina (.276), 1b.; Knabe (.228), 2b.; Doolan (.245), ss.; Runt Walsh (.310), 3b.; Meyer (.302), 1f.; Duncan (.287), cf.; Bates (.307), rf., and Jacklitsch (.275), catcher. Jack Quinn, one of baseball's most durable hurlers, won 26 and lost 14 to lead the mound staff and was aided by Suggs, who compiled a 24-14 mark.

The arrival of the Feds as next-door neighbors caused Dunn much concern. In spite of his first-place team, he lost \$28,000 by mid-season. To cancel the debt, Dunn sold Ruth, Egan and Ernie Shore to the Boston Red Sox. He also sold Twombly, Daniels and Derrick to the Cincinnati Reds; Cree to the Yankees, and Cottrell to the Boston Braves. The makeshift team ended sixth, a sad close for a fine club.

The year 1915 was poor for all baseball men. Dunn moved on to Richmond and ended seventh in a disastrous season. The Feds ended last, winning 47 and losing 107 in Baltimore. According to Goldman, the Federal League, ill-fated from the start as there was

no room for three major leagues, lost \$2,000,000, while the American and National together lost \$4,000,000. Baltimore's stockholders had a deficit of \$64,343 by January 31, 1916. But the Federal League did baseball one service, even though it passed out of existence in 1915. It caused the five-fold increase in players' wages.

When Dunn returned to Baltimore next year, he was able to purchase the Federal League park for \$25,000. The old park was torn down to be used as a building site. With the park and the franchise, together representing a total investment of \$100,000, the Pennsylvanian began to lay the groundwork for his greatest teams.

For the next three years the Orioles ended fourth once and third twice. The 1916 club led the league in team batting with a mark of .281. Tipple was an outstanding pitcher with 20 victories and 12 setbacks. Dunn revised his team for 1917, and the club, although ending third, was only two and a half games out of first place with a record of 88 victories, 61 losses. Jack Bentley, who hit .342, was the new first-baseman; Wilson ("Chick") Fewster played second; Shannon and Art Bues rounded out the infield. There was a strong outfield consisting of Otis Lawry (.396), Turner Barbar (.352), Bill Lamar and Baldomero Acosta. Thormahlen won 25 games and Hill pitched 20 victories, leading the hill corps. "Rube" Parnham, a youngster from McKeesport, Pa., had his first season in a brilliant but eccentric career.

After selling Thormahlen, Fewster and Lamar to the Yankees and Barbar, Bentley and Williams to the Chicago Cubs, who sent Merwin Jacobson, a great outfielder, here in the deal, Dunn in 1918 added Max Bishop, a fine young infielder from the Baltimore City College. Bishop, Lawry, Jacobson, Ben Egan, who had returned from Boston, and Parnham formed the nucleus for his great Orioles—about to present to Baltimore its "Silver Age in Baseball." Dunn also had a great "kid" pitcher, "Lefty" Worrell, whose 25 and 10 record made him a first-rate prospect, but he died unfortunately during the flu epidemic that autumn.

SEVEN CONSECUTIVE PENNANTS

It was in 1919 that Jack Dunn assembled the first of his famous Orioles, the greatest minor league team in baseball history. Through the 1925 campaign, the club won seven consecutive pennants, while compiling 776 victories and 354 defeats for a .687 percentage. Never before or since has such a mark been established by a high-grade baseball team. Dunn had to pay dearly for the players, who com-

prised a team the equal of the best of the major league clubs. His annual payroll averaged over \$50,000, but Dunn loved a winner and was willing to pay the price. These teams established records that still stand in league competition.

Jack Bentley, first baseman par excellence and outstanding relief pitcher, has the circuit's batting record with a .412 average compiled in 1921. He made a new mark for most hits, 246, that same year. He also holds the relief hurler's mark for 12 victories and only one defeat, made in 1921.

"Rube" Parnham holds the modern league record for most victories in a single year—33 in 1923. He won the most consecutive victories—20—in the same year. "Lefty" Grove, a lanky fast pitcher from Lonaconing, Md., who is the only one of that famous clan still pitching (now with the Boston Red Sox), holds the league strikeout mark of 330 made in 303 innings of work in 1923. He also issued the most bases on balls for another record that season, with a total of 186 free passes.

Jack Ogden, a hard-working hurler from Swarthmore College, holds the International League record for most victories in a league career—213. Ogden, Tommy Thomas, a City College product now managing the Orioles, and George ("Moose") Earnshaw, another Pennsylvanian, compiled the best three-man pitching record in 1925. Between them they won 89 of the Orioles' 105 triumphs in their last pennant-winning year. In 1921, the Orioles set a record for consecutive victories, capturing 27 straight. Corsicana, of the East Texas League, a circuit of inferior classification, tied that mark. Following are the team records for the seven consecutive pennant winners:

1919—first pennant: won 100, lost 49.
 1920—second pennant: won 109, lost 44.
 1921—third pennant: won 119, lost 47.
 1922—fourth pennant: won 115, lost 52.
 1923—fifth pennant: won 111, lost 53.
 1924—sixth pennant: won 117, lost 48.
 1925—seventh pennant: won 105, lost 61.

The batting averages, with pitching records (won and lost), were:

Player	Position	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
Jack Bentley,	1b. . . . .	.324	.371	*.412	.350	...	...	...
Clayton Sheedy,	1b. . . . .	...	...	...	...	.359	.298	.332
Max Bishop,	2b. . . . .	.260	.248	.319	.261	.333	...	...
Fred Brainard,	2b. . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	.305
Dick Porter,	2b & of. . .	...	...	...	.279	.316	*.364	.336

* Led league in batting for that season.

Player	Position	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
Joe Boley,	ss.....	.301	.308	.317	.343	.306	.291	.330
Fritz Maisel,	3b.....	.336	.319	.339	.306	.275	.306	.329
Otis Lawry,	1f & 2b...	*.364	.315	.352	.333	.299	...	...
Merwin Jacobson,	cf.....	.351	*.404	.340	.304	.328	.308	...
Johnny Honig,	rf.....	.320	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bill Holden,	rf.....	...	.352	.302	...	...	...	...
Jimmy Walsh,	rf.....	...	...	...	.327	.333	...	...
Wally Pitt,	of.....	...	...	...	...	*.357	.309	...
Tom Connelly,	of.....	...	...	...	...	...	.312	.285
Joe Jacobs,	of.....	...	...	...	...	...	.284	...
Maurice Archdeacon,	of.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	.310
John Roser,	of.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	.303
Curt Walker,	of.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	.306
Ben Egan,	c.....	.341	.331	.270	...	...	...	...
Wade Lefler,	c.....	.282	.336	.316	...	...	...	...
Lena Styles,	c & of....	...	...	...	.315	.316	...	...
Wickey McAvoy,	c.....	...	...	...	.310	.309	...	...
Joe Cobb,	c.....	...	...	...	...	.320	.320	.266
Lew McCarty,	c.....	...	...	...	...	...	.308	...
Ray McKee,	c.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	.273

* Led league in batting for that season.

Pitchers	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
Rube Parnham...	†28—12	5—0	.....	16—10	†33—7	6—5	.....
Harry Frank....	24—6	25—12	13—7	22—9	9—2	.....	.....
Jack Bentley....	.....	16—3	12—1	13—2	.....	.....	.....
Jack Ogden....	.....	27—9	†31—8	†24—10	17—12	19—6	28—11
Lefty Grove....	.....	12—2	25—10	18—8	27—10	†26—6	.....
Tommy Thomas..	.....	.....	24—10	18—9	15—12	16—11	†32—12
George Earnshaw.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7—0	29—11
Cliff Jackson....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	16—8	13—14
Rudy Kneisch...	10—9	11—4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hill	12—3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Newton	6—8	5—2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Socks Seibold...	10—5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Sullivan .....	.....	7—11	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bill Henderson..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8—2	0—5

†Led pitchers in games won for the league.

The 1919 team won the pennant in a walk. Otis Lawry, fleet outfielder who led the circuit in batting, also was top man in stolen bases with 56. Maisel, back from a long career with the New York Yankees and the St. Louis Browns, hit the most doubles—44. He was appointed captain of the Orioles.

Jack Bentley was the league's leading pitching star from the viewpoint of earned runs allowed in 1920. His rating was 2.11 permitted per game. The Little World Series with the champions of the American Association, the AA circuit in the mid-West, was started this

year. Baltimore won the inaugural series from St. Paul, five games out of six.

The Orioles ran away with the gonfalon in 1921, but the team came up for the Junior World Series in partially crippled shape and lost to Louisville. Bentley had a sore arm, Boley played with a broken finger and Bishop's leg was broken. Ogden, the league's leading hurler in games won, had the lowest earned average with 2.01, and Grove led in strike-outs with 254. The team compiled a .717 winning percentage this year, its best effort and the fourth highest in the league's history.

The 1922 team, later described by Dunn as a smart club and one "with a wallop," swept through the International League race and went on to capture the Junior World Series from St. Paul in five out of eight contests. Bentley, whose earned run average was 1.73 for a new low, was sold to the Giants for \$72,500, a record price.

The 1923 club was very powerful, leading the league in team batting with a .310 average, but the Birds lost to Kansas City in the Little World Series. Bishop was a slugging star with 22 home runs and was sold to the Philadelphia Athletics. Otis Lawry, "Lena" Styles and Jimmy Walsh were sold. But the 1924 team with some new faces still retained its old punch and pace. Grove, who fanned 231 batters to lead in that department as well in number of games won, was sold to the Philadelphia Athletics for a new record price of \$100,600. This team again lost to St. Paul, the Association titleholders in the post-season series. The Orioles faltered a bit in 1925 but managed to capture the flag behind the amazing three-man hurling staff of Thomas, Ogden and Earnshaw, who averaged just under thirty victories per man for the season. Louisville beat the Birds in the Little World Series.

Tommy Thomas was sold to the Chicago White Sox. The old stars left on the 1926 club were Sheedy, Boley, Maisel, Porter, Cobb and three pitchers—Ogden, Earnshaw and the undependable, eccentric Parnham. This club played spirited baseball but wound up in second place. It won 101 games and lost 65, just eight games behind a fine Toronto nine. Joe Boley, the greatest shortstop in the league's history, was sold to the Athletics for \$65,000. Ogden with a 24-15 won and lost record and Earnshaw with a 22-14 mark were the team's leading hurlers, while Clayton Sheedy had a good year, batting .364.

In the next two years the Orioles ended in fifth position. The 1927 club won 85 and lost 82, while the 1928 team, Dunn's last, was lucky to break even, winning 82 and losing the same number. Dick

Porter led the league's batters in 1927 with a .376 average. Jack Ogden was sold to the St. Louis Browns. A year later Dunn sold Earnshaw to the Athletics for \$70,000 and Porter to the Cleveland Indians for a fancy price.

END OF GREAT BASEBALL ERA

On October 22, 1928, while watching his bird dogs, his chief hobby, Jack Dunn dropped dead near his Towson home. Thus was lost to Baltimore and baseball a great leader. He was hard-boiled and fought to the last ditch for a winner, but he was admired in baseball circles everywhere. He made close to \$1,000,000 in player sales in his career, a feat unequaled by any minor league manager or magnate. He dominated the International League with an iron hand, and even had a part interest in the Jersey City club for several years. He fought the majors to the end and represented the last stand in independent minor league baseball.

His estate was put at \$278,755, of which 988 shares of common stock, or in cash value, \$199,600, was invested in the Baltimore baseball club. He held 75% of the club's stock. This sum was left in trust for his widow, who still runs the Orioles, and was turned over to Charles H. Knapp, as executor. Knapp later was the league's president until his death in 1936. George M. Weiss was hired as general manager of the Orioles in 1929 and Fritz Maisel as player manager. Thus it required three men to do the work that "Dunnie" had done—another tribute to his prowess.

Some of Dunn's stars went on to carve their names among baseball's immortals. Ruth went from the Boston Red Sox to the New York Yankees, where, as an outfielder, he was to become the famous home run "king" that led to the development of the modern game. In his career he smashed 708 home runs in seasonal play and fifteen in World Series games, a total of 723, a mark that will probably stand for all time. He also received baseball's top salary in 1930 and 1931—\$80,000 per season. "Lefty" Grove, who helped the Philadelphia Athletics to win three pennants (as did Bishop, Boley and Earnshaw) is the only member of the old guard still playing. He is still the star pitcher for the Boston Red Sox. His major league record of 286 victories and only 128 defeats for a victory percentage of .691 is the record for major league hurlers of all time.

Dunn's successors have had some good teams, but no outstanding ones. Weiss and Maisel produced two second and two third place clubs from 1929 to 1932. Joe Hauser in 1930 hit sixty-three homers

for the Orioles to set an International League record. After Weiss went to New York and Maisel retired, Jack Ogden took over as general manager, converted \$20,000 worth of player purchases into sales valued at \$150,000; renovated Oriole Park at a cost of \$100,000; installed new seats and a lighting system for night baseball. But there have been no more pennants flying over Oriole Park. Facing the future, the Orioles have formed a working agreement with the Philadelphia Nationals in the hope that the coveted flag may be brought back to Baltimore.

CAPTAIN C. S. WINDER'S ACCOUNT OF A BATTLE WITH THE INDIANS

A letter describing a desperate engagement with the Indians of Washington Territory in 1858, written by Captain Charles Sydney Winder, of Talbot County, afterwards Brigadier General in the Confederacy, has been transcribed for the *Magazine* by Dr. I. Ridgeway Trimble. This document was owned by Captain Winder's son, the late Edward Lloyd Winder of Presqu'ile, Talbot County, who, before his death, kindly consented to its publication in these pages.

Soon after Winder's graduation from West Point in 1850, he was ordered to the Pacific Coast. His vessel was shipwrecked, however, and the rescue ship landed him with his troops in Liverpool, England. His conduct in the emergency won him promotion to a captaincy. When he finally reached the assigned station he participated in several engagements among which was the encounter described in his letter, now known as the Battle of Steptoe Butte.¹

The letter was directed to Charles H. Key, a son of Francis Scott Key, who had married Elizabeth Lloyd, daughter of Edward Lloyd, VI, of Wye House. Winder's wife was Alice Lloyd, another daughter of this Edward Lloyd. General Winder was killed in the Battle of Cedar Mountain, at the age of 33.²

Fort Walla Walla W. T.
June 2nd., 1858

My Dear Charley:—

Many thanks for your very welcome letter of April 3rd. which I received May 16th. some 150 miles north of this, and in far from a pleasant situation, as you shall hear in this letter. I was truly sorry to hear that cousin L. was not well, though sincerely hope, she was soon better and now quite strong and well. I must thank her for two very kind and welcome letters, the last received at the same time as yours. I should answer them, but she'll hear from me at home, through mine to Alice and therefore indite this to you as t'will probably find you suffering from heat in the city. Ah, how willingly

¹ According to E. S. Meany, *History of the State of Washington*, N. Y., 1927, pp. 212-214.

² Gen. Stonewall Jackson said in his report: "It is difficult within the proper reserve of an official report to do justice to the merits of this accomplished officer. Richly endowed with those qualities of mind and person which fit an officer for command, and which attract the admiration and excite the enthusiasm of troops, he was rapidly rising to the front rank of his profession, and his loss has been severely felt." General Lee also wrote, in his official report: "I can add nothing to the well-deserved tribute paid to the courage, capacity, and conspicuous merit of this lamented officer by General Jackson, in whose brilliant campaigns in the valley and on the Chickahominy he bore a distinguished part."—*Confederate Military History*, II, pp. 165-167.

would I pass this summer there, and bind myself never to growl at heat or mosquitoes could I but change from this far off place. Charley, you do not know what t'is to separate from your family and God grant you may never know it, as I have. I feel too keenly that I am separated from mine by a *long long* way and God alone knows if I am ever to see them. T'is a terrible thought and almost maddens me, yet t'is forced on me at times and too frequently of late. Ere this reaches you you will have heard, by the papers and through my letters home, we are in for a big Indian war, also that I was of the command which had a fight and got into a bad scrape.

I will try to give you a concise account of it, that you may know definitely of it, for the papers doubtless have various accounts, for even here rumors were many. A command left this post on May 6th., consisting of portions of three dragoon companies, and 25 of my men, making in all 8 officers and 152 men. We moved in a northerly direction towards Colville, passing through the Nez Perce, Pelouse, and Spokane country. For ten days the march was without incident of note, and scarce an Indian had been seen, except a few friendly ones. We had marched about 150 miles at to within 20 miles of the Spokane River, in the country of the same name, when suddenly on the 16th. we found ourselves opposed by a body of Indians, painted and dressed for war, bows strung, and guns loaded. At first sight with my glass I could count but 70, in a few seconds as if by magic, the moment one or two rode up to talk they appeared all around us, some 800, and in half an hour from 1000 to 1200, the Indians here say 1600 which may be true.

A talk was had, and they were determined on fighting; evidently a large combination had been formed, and our movements watched, awaiting our arrival in this place, where they had the best positions. They were painted and dressed in the most fantastic and savage style; their horses painted and dressed. We formed for defense, and marched two miles or more to water, they charging around us, yelling, whooping, shaking scalps and such things over their heads, looking like so many fiends. Our little band behaved nobly, and kept cool, waiting for them to take the initiative, though they dashed up even to our lines, withing doing anything, however, except yelling. This began about 12M and continued until about 8:00 PM, when dusk coming they withdrew. All that time some had been talking with the commanding officer, and we had been standing ready to fight.

T'was Sunday, and I contrasted it with the quiet days passed among you all at home. About 7:00 PM an express reached us with our mail, and t'was then cousin L.'s and your letters reached me. I soon read them and was glad to receive good accounts of all, for I was sadly disappointed at not seeing any letter from Ma or Alice. That night it was supposed we would be attacked. We had a strong guard, and I was officer of the day. We were up at 2:00 o'clock Monday morning, and started to retrace our steps, as it would have been madness to go on. At first not an Indian was to be seen, shortly after we started they were seen in masses following and getting on our flanks. They began the performances of the previous day, keeping at a greater distance, sometimes firing into the air. I was soon convinced we had to fight. In a short time they fired into our rear guard, and in a few minutes the fight became general.

The scene beggars description, 1000 of these infuriated devils, painted and dressed as I said, charging in all directions, yelling, and whooping, and fring on us. They fought well, but we moved on and got a good position

on a hill. For six hours the firing was hot and heavy. It then abated, but continued until dark. It began at 8:00 AM and lasted near 12 hours. Our loss was great for our members, though considering the force opposed to us and the length of the affair we were fortunate. Of five company officers we lost two, poor Captain Taylor, and Lieutenant Gaston, fell doing their duty nobly, the former received two mortal wounds, and was buried on the field, the latter fell into the hands of the Indians, as his company was panic struck on his falling. Lieutenants Gray and Wheeler, and Doctor Randolph are gallant spirits, and behaved nobly. We had seven killed and 13 wounded on our side, the Indians acknowledged nine killed (two Chiefs), and 20 wounded, many mortally. We feel sure there were more, for in one charge 12 were left on the field. My men were cool and courageous, behaving well through the entire affair. I had three wounded, one severely though not seriously, and he is doing well. It was a hard days work, and nothing to eat.

At night our ammunition was nearly expended, and the numbers around us increasing, and it was decided to abandon our property, and make a forced night march for the safety of the command. At 10:00 PM we started, and by 8:00 PM the next evening (Tuesday) we had made 85 miles, without sleeping or eating. It was a hard march and exhausted all of us. I cant tell you my feelings or thoughts during the fight, and march afterwards, while balls were whistling freely around, and yells ringing in my ears. For two or three days after did I ever hear the same. T'is the first fight of any importance I have participated in, and must say in candor I should be satisfied were my fate so changed as to prevent my ever going into another, a strange sentiment you may say for a soldier, and myself, nevertheless t'is my conviction after recent experience, though I'll do my duty under all and any circumstances.

We arrived at this post on the 22nd. instant, rather the worse for wear and tear and deficient many things we started with, and having had a short though rough campaign. Such is an account of a two weeks trip out here, as full as I can make it on paper; some of these days I will tell you more of it. All is quiet now, and we are awaiting orders, and an increase of our force. We want 1000 men to operate successfully, where they are to come from I cant say. I do trust they will be got here soon, and enable us to strike a decisive blow ere November or December. I will keep you informed of our movements.

Many thanks for your kind attention to my commissions, such as photographs, oranges, etc. My regards to Charley Howard, and say I hope some day to go home with him or meet him in Baltimore. I was glad to hear Aunt and all at Mr. H's were well. My kindest regards to each as if named. I had a note from Jim a few days since. He is gone to Umqua as you heard. I think he will wish himself away from it soon. My best love to cousin Lizzie and a kiss to Eddie and Mary. Don't let them forget me. I am expecting their likenesses. I hope Archer got transportation out, as he has not yet arrived that I heard. My kind regards to Rush and his family, Frank and his, and the Morrisses. Also Mr. L. Gittings, including Charley G. Do write me and tell me of your selves and family, of my friends, and anything of interest of the city. I suppose Uncle is home long ere this. I hope he is pleased with his southern trip, and plantation, and the freshet did not injure him. I was glad to see Barton was re-appointed. Give me all the news and tell of city people. I was shocked to hear of Colonel Owen's

death, and cant realize it. Where is Buck and what doing? My regards to him. I wish I were to be at Wye with you this summer, for *many* reasons. Do you fish any, and dont you sometimes miss me? I hope so. My fond love to each there, and at Presqu'ile. I'll think of you all constantly, of my happy sojourn there with all of its pleasures and luxuries. This is existing and losing half of life, as I pretend to live now, but there is no help for it, so I try to be philosophical, which is very hard. Take good care of yourself. Good-bye dear Charley. God Bless you and yours. In haste, for the mail closes.

Truly your friend and relative,

C. S. Winder

THE LAYMEN'S LIBRARIES AND THE PROVINCIAL LIBRARY

By JOSEPH TOWNE WHEELER *

Small collections of books and tracts were provided for the use of Maryland laymen many years before Thomas Bray established his parochial and laymen's libraries in the colony. The value of printed material in theological controversies was early recognized by church leaders during the Reformation period. The Catholic and Protestant church parties in Maryland apparently felt that books played an important part in winning converts and in combating theological doctrines.

In 1638, only a few years after the founding of the colony, William Lewis, of St. Mary's county, was accused of forbidding his servants to read Protestant books.¹ Not long afterward, Dr. Thomas Gerrard, a prominent Catholic, was called before the House of Delegates to answer the charge of having carried away the books and the key of a Protestant chapel. He was found guilty and was fined five hundred pounds of tobacco which was to be used for the maintenance of the first minister who should come to the Province, and was ordered to return the stolen property.² Charles II gave a collection of Bibles and other church books to Calvert County, although there was at that time no church or minister there.³ These and other examples which might be cited show that books played a vital part in the early religious life of the colony, and that in order to be successful, the churches must provide their parishioners with reading matter, particularly when no ministers were available.

The Maryland parochial and laymen's libraries established by the Rev. Thomas Bray at the close of the seventeenth century were part of his larger program to strengthen the Church of England in the colony.⁴ The parochial libraries were intended to provide a stimulus to the thinking of the Maryland clergy and to help them retain their spiritual fire through constant association with the best writings of their church. The laymen's libraries were especially designed for inhabitants of isolated districts which were infrequently visited by clergymen. They were also intended as an antidote against the active preaching of Quaker missionaries.

* Mr. Wheeler is assistant to the Librarian of the Minneapolis Public Library.—Ed.

¹ Edward D. Neill, *The Founders of Maryland*, Albany, 1876, pp. 95-96.

² *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly*, in *Archives of Maryland*, I, 119. See also Wroth, "First Sixty Years of the Church of England in Maryland, 1632-1692" in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XI (1916), 9-10.

³ Neill, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96.

⁴ J. T. Wheeler, "Thomas Bray and the Maryland Parochial Libraries" in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIV (1939), 246-265.

(1)

THE
LAYMAN'S LIBRARY:

BEING A

Lending Library for the Use of the Laity.

Consisting of a Scheme of Divinity, with suitable Books, both for a full Instruction in all necessary and saving Truth, and for Defence from the Infection of Modern Infidelity, Heresie, and Error: To be kept in the Vestry of each Parish in the Plantations; and to be lent out, and call'd in (except a few to be given outright) according to the Discretion of the Minister thereof. The whole within the Compass of 10 l.

PART I.

Consisting of such Books, as are of more Universal Use and Concernment, to Persons of what Age, or Degree, soever.

I. For Instruction in all Things necessary to Salvation.

First, *The Holy Scriptures themselves.*

Bibles. ————— 5

And then for the better Improvement out of the Holy Scriptures.

Secondly, *Preparative Exhortations to awaken Persons Consciences to have regard to Religion, and the Salvation of their own Souls.*

The First Pastoral Letter, from a Minister to his Parishioners: Being an earnest Exhortation to them to take Care of their Souls; and a Preparative to render all his future Methods of Instruction more effectual to their Edification. ———— 100

These to be given out-right.

The Second Pastoral Letter, from a Minister to his Parishioners: Being an earnest Exhortation to them to the great Duty of Consideration; the Consideration particularly of their latter End, as that without which both Preaching and Writing will be lost upon them ———— 100

These also to be given out-right.

The Third Pastoral Letter, inviting all Persons to come really, not in Name and Form only, under the Discipline of the Christian Institution, as being indeed a Yoke most easie, and a Burthen very light. ———— 100

These to be given out-right.

A

The

Dr. Bray's Proposal for a Laymen's Library Largely Written by Maryland Clergymen.

The idea of laymen's libraries was gradually formulated in Bray's mind during the period from 1696 to 1702 when he was most active in his efforts to strengthen the church in Maryland. At first he sent over a small and varied assortment of books to be distributed where they would do the most good. Later, he conceived the interesting idea of calling upon the local clergy to prepare abridgments of well-known theological works or even to write popular devotional works. When this plan was found to be impractical, he sent out laymen's libraries comprised of specially selected tracts to each of the parishes in the colony. These were to be used by the local clergymen to the best advantage in fostering an interest in the church and everything for which it stood.

One of Bray's greatest problems was that of getting the minister and vestries to acknowledge the receipt of the small parcels of books and even the parochial libraries which he sent them. After fruitless efforts on his own part, he persuaded Governor Nicholson to issue a proclamation ordering the vestry of each parish to return a list of all the books they had received. The proclamation was dated March 28, 1697, and called for:

. . . a true and full accot^t of what great Church Bibles, Comon Prayer Books & Books of Homilies they have & how they Came by th^m as also if they have now Recd: from me as a Guift to their Parish ffour Ordinary Bibles ffour of the Reverend Doct^r William's Catechisme Stitch't, as also ffour of his Lawfullness of Comon Prayer worship &^{ca} Stitch't and one whole Duty of Man, and if they did not Receive one of the Reverend Dr Brays Catechetical Lectures. . . .⁵

The vestry was warned to comply with the orders "as they will answer the contrary at their peril."

A short time before this Nicholson had acknowledged the receipt of a small collection of religious books sent by the Archbishop of Canterbury from the shop of Mr. Clout, a bookseller in St. Paul's churchyard. Among them were:⁶

The parsons Councillor	The poor mans Guide
An Abridgment of ye Ecclesiastical Laws	Ten brief Expositions of ye Church Catechism
3 small books named a Guide for Counstable	The poor mans help
6 small books named a familiar Guide	The Catechism of ye Church

These he probably distributed where they would do the most good.

⁵ *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1696/7-1698, in Archives of Maryland, XXIII, 77.*

⁶ Nicholson to Archbishop of Canterbury, 15 February 1696/7. Fulham Palace Mss., Maryland No. 159. LC Trans.

Governor Nicholson, in spite of the slanders of his enemies who charged him with every conceivable crime and spread about the statement made by an Indian chief that he had been born drunk, devoted himself wholeheartedly to the church in Maryland.⁷ He conceived the unique idea of diverting a part of the money provided for the defense of the colony to purchase religious books. On March 18, 1696, he wrote the Bishop of London:

I most humbly propose yt an Order might be obtained from his Maty for a moiety of ye q^{tr} pt of ye Revenue of this province for ye buying ordinary Bibles with ye Common prayers, with some other good Books to be dispersed in this Country and pennsylvania, especially some small books about keeping ye Sabbath, receiving ye Sacrament, having their Children baptised, and against swearing, cursing, and drinking.⁸

Later, he proposed to the Maryland Assembly that:

. . . some part of the revenue given toward furnishing arms and ammunition for the use of the province be laid out for the purchase of books to be added to the books, which had been presented by the King, to form a library in the port of Annapolis and that a portion of the public revenue be applied to the enlargement thereof and that the library should be placed in the office and under the care of the commissary of the province, permitting all persons, desirous to study or read the books, to have access thereto under proper restrictions.⁹

There is no record to show that the Governor and the Bishop of London succeeded in getting King William to turn over money he needed in preparing for war or that the Assembly was willing to comply with Nicholson's unusual request. However, these interesting proposals show the importance he attached to providing religious books for the colonists. Dr. Steiner wrote that as far as he could determine this was the first instance of a public official recommending that public funds be used for the support of "a free public library."

In his manuscript Accounts, Bray showed the number of copies of several popular religious tracts which he had sent to the colonies before 1701. Of the "Preparative Discourses, or the pastoral Let-

⁷ Nicholson's devotion to the Church of England and to the colony is shown in his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on February 13, 1696/7: ". . . ffor ye saying of being kikkd up stairs is true by my being removed from being lieutenant Govern^r & Commander in chief of Virginia (and I hope, without any ill done there by me) to be Govern^r of Maryland where I have found, to my sorrow, great Trouble & Charge: and suppose shall doe so still; if it doth not please God to send better times. If I have not finished those Affairs concerning o^e Churches, Schools, and ye Coll. in Virginia; I hope y^t they will not be laid to my charge, as wanting a heart to doe ym, but, as in truth it is, an Estate."

⁸ Fulham Palace Mss., Maryland No. 152. LC Trans. March 18, 95/6.

⁹ B. C. Steiner, "Rev. Thomas Bray and his American Libraries," *American Historical Review*, II (1896), 66-67.

ters to take Care of the Soule designed to be given, one into Every ffamily in the Plantations" he sent six thousand to Maryland and eighteen thousand to the other colonies. Of the "Discourses on ye Covent Grace giving a General Instruction into ye whole Doctrine of Christianity: To be lent by ye parochial Ministers according to their Discretion, more Especially to the Youth which they Design to Introduce to Confirmation, or the Holy Sacrament" he sent four thousand copies in all, of which one thousand went to Maryland. Bray also listed more than ten other books which were sent to the colonies in large number for distribution. Among them were: Bishop William's and Dr. Isham's *Exposition on the Church Catechism with Scripture Proofs* (500 copies), *Whole Duties of Man* (300 copies), *Friendly Letters to Young Men* (500 copies), *Christian Monitors* (500 copies), *Familiar Guide to the Holy Sacrament* (500 copies), Dr. Asheton's *pieces ag^t Cursing, Swearing, Blasphemy and Drunkenness* (500 copies), *An account of the Societies for Reformation of Manners* (500 copies), and Dr. Nicholl's *Christian Way to Salvation* (1000 copies).¹⁰

Soon after returning from his short stay in Maryland in 1700, Bray prepared a preliminary plan for laymen's libraries to be sent to the colony. He published a five-page document entitled *The Layman's Library: being a Lending Library for the Use of the Laity*.¹¹ It consisted of a classification or scheme of the subject of divinity with a list of books under each heading which were to be kept in each parish in the plantations to be loaned or given away at the minister's discretion. The cost of the entire collection was to be less than £10. The most unusual aspect of this document is the fact that a very large number of the titles were to be compiled by colonial clergymen. For example, under the heading of tracts to encourage a more thorough knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity he listed:

The surpassing Excellency of Christian Knowledge: more especially of the knowledge of Jesus Christ, in his Nature, and Offices; and particularly in what relates to his Sufferings, and Satisfaction, considered in a Discourse on I Cor. 2. 2. By a Plantation Divine."

In many cases where the books were to be written by Maryland clergymen, he gave the initials of the authors. From contemporary lists of the Maryland clergy it is possible to supply the full names of the authors whom he had selected. The following books were to be prepared by them:

¹⁰ From Manuscripts of Dr. Bray's Associates, SPG, Dr. Bray's Accounts, Part 1, 1696-1701/2, pages 28-30.

¹¹ Copy in Sion College Manuscripts, pp. 317-319. LC Trans.

A Summary Exposition on the Church-Catechism, extracted out of all the most considerable Expositions, which have been lately written upon the same: *To be read before, and approved of, by the whole Convention of the Mary-Land Clergy.*

The Great Mediator, extracted out of Dr. *Sherlock's* Knowledge of Jesus Christ, and Dr. *Scott* on the great Doctrine of the Mediation. By H[ugh] J[ones], a *Mary-Land* Divine.

The Wisdom, Goodness and Justice of God, as illustrated in our Redemption, extracted out of Dr. *Bate's* Harmony of the Divine Attributes, in the great Business of Man's Redemption; and Bishop *Stillingsfleet*, on the Sufferings and Satisfaction of Christ. By H[enry] H[all], a *Mary-Land* Divine.

A Short Representation of our Future Judgment, to awaken secure and unthinking Sinners, extracted out of Dr. *Sherlock*, on Death and Judgment. By J[oseph] C[olbatch], a *Mary-Land* Divine.

The Christian on Earth preparing himself to be a Saint in Heaven; extracted out of Dr. *Scott's* Christian Life, The Life of God in the Soul of Man, and Dr. *Lucas* on Happiness. By T[homas] C[ockshute], a *Mary-Land* Divine.

Discourses on Reformation of Manners in General, and against Drunkenness, Lewdness, Prophaness, Swearing, Cursing, and Prophanation of the Lord's Day. By J[ohn] L[illiston] R[ichard] S[ewell] S[tephen] B[ordley] R[ichard] M[arsden] T[homas] H[owel] G[eorge] T[rotter] on the Eastern Shore. By H[ugh] J[ones] T[homas] C[ockshute] H[enry] H[all] J[oseph] C[olbatch] E[dward] T[opp] A[lexander] S[trachem] on the Western Shore. And on the Potomock-side, B[enjamin] N[obbes] R[obert] O[wen] and J[onathan] W[hite].

The Christian Penitent, extracted out of Bishop *Taylor*, Dr. *Ingelo*, *Amor Paenitens*, Dr. *Payn* on Repentance, Dr. *Goodman's* Penitent pardon'd. By B[enjamin] N[obbes], a *Mary-Land* Divine.

A Discourse on Death-bed Repentance, extracted out of Dr. *Hamond* on Death-bed Repentance; together with the now-named Writers upon the Doctrine of Repentance. By E[dward] T[opp], a *Mary-Land* Divine.

The Methods of God's Grace and Assistance, extracted out of Dr. *Hamond's* and Bishop *Sanderson's* Pacifick Letters. Dr. *Cleget* on the Operations of the Holy Ghost, and Mr. *Allen* on Divine Assistance. By J[ohn] L[illiston], a *Mary-Land* Divine.

The Worthy Communicant, briefly stated out of Dr. *Cudworth*, Bishop *Patrick*, Dr. *Pelling*, and Mr. *Kettlewel*, on the Lord's Supper; with proper Devotions. By S[tephen] B[ordley], a *Mary-Land* Divine.

An Extract out of *Grotius de Satisfactione Christi*; and Bishop *Stillingsfleet's* Vindication of the Trinity. By a *Mary-Land* Divine.

An Extract out of Dr. *Alix's* Judgment of the Jewish Church against the Unitarians; and Bishop *Stillingsfleet's* Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity. By a *Mary-Land* Divine.

Texts against Popery. Epitomiz'd by R[ichard] S[ewell], a *Mary-Land* Divine.

The Cases against the Papists. Epitomiz'd by J[onathan] W[hite], a *Mary-Land* Divine.

The Notes of the Church. Epitomiz'd by G[eorge] T[rotter], a *Mary-Land* Divine.

Bishop King's Inventions of Men in the Worship of God. Epitomiz'd by a *Mary-Land* Divine.

Probably Bray discussed his plans for the laymen's libraries with the Maryland clergy during the visitation at Annapolis, and at that time assigned the books which they were to edit or abridge. There is no indication that the tracts were ever written and it is likely that the project fell through when he returned to England. A revised plan for laymen's libraries was published in 1701 in *Several Circular Letters to the Clergy of Mary-Land, Subsequent to their late Visitation*.¹² All of the titles to be written by colonial clergymen were omitted from this edition. He substituted for them popular religious tracts written by English clergymen and indicated the number of copies he planned to send.

On April 24 and May 6, 1701, he sent eleven laymen's libraries to Maryland in the care of Mr. Gabriel d'Emilliane and Mr. Humberston Baron who were sailing for the colonies. The libraries were sent to William and Mary's Parish in St. Mary's County; St. Paul's Parish in Prince George's County; Christ Church in Calvert County; All-Saint's in Calvert County; St. James's at Herring-Creek in Anne Arundel County; All-Hallow's in Anne Arundel County; St. Michael's in Talbot County; St. George's Parish and a place called Pickawaxen.¹³

The collections were exactly the same except that St. Mary's, St. Michael's and St. George's each received a parcel containing about three hundred additional copies.

The following list shows the titles and numbers of copies sent to each parish: ¹⁴

TITLES	COPIES IN EACH LIBRARY
Bibles	10
Expositions of the Ch. Cat ^m	20
Catschisms with Prayers and Graces	20
Short Discourse on ye Baptismal Covt.	20

¹² Reprinted in Steiner's *Rev. Thomas Bray* in Maryland Historical Society Fund Publications, No. 37, pp. 153-156. This was not listed in the *Term Catalogues*.

¹³ In the year 1701 thirty-five boxes of books were shipped to Maryland by the Bishop of London. See H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 1699-1705*, II, 191.

¹⁴ From the original inventories in the Bray manuscripts at Sion college, pp. 300-316. LC Trans.

TITLES	COPIES IN EACH LIBRARY
Common Prayers.....	10
Dr. Beveridge's Sermon on ye Common Prayer.....	10
Introductions of ye N. Version of Psalms.....	20
Pastoral Letters shewing ye Necessity & Advantage of an Early Religion.....	20
Pastoral Letters from a Minister to his Parishoners.....	100
Second Pastorals.....	100
Third Pastorals.....	100
Fourth Pastorals.....	100
Catechetical Discourses.....	2
Guides to a Christian.....	10
Nature & Necessity of Justifying & Saving Faith.....	10
Surpassing Excy of Chrian Knowledge.....	10
Whole Duties of Man.....	10
Chrian Monitors.....	10
Seamen's Monitors.....	10
Earnest Exhortations to Religious Duties both publick & private	10

TITLES SENT ONLY TO ST. MARY'S, ST. MICHAEL'S AND
ST. GEORGE'S LIBRARIES

Ashton's Death-bed Repentance.....	10
Divine Art of Prayer.....	10
Chrians daily Devotion *.....	50
Discourses on ye Nature Necessity & Benefitt of Sacramts...	10
Dorrington's Familiar Guide.....	10
Accounts of ye Society for Reformation of Manners.....	10
Short Vindications.....	50
Earnest Persuatives to the Observation of ye Lds day.....	50
Kind Cautions to prophane Swearers.....	50
Rebukes to the Sins of Uncleanness.....	50
St. Cyprian's Discourse on Unity.....	5
Faith & Practice of a Ch: of Eng: man.....	5
Serious Call to the Quakers **.....	5
Mr. Keith's Chrian Cat ^m	5
Addresses to ye Roman Catholicks.....	5
Accounts of ye French Persecution of ye Protestants with Exhortation to Perseverance.....	5
Bp. King's Inventions of Men in he worp of God.....	5

* Sent to St. Michael's library only.

** 50 copies to St. Michael's library.

Almost two years passed before the vestry of St. James's Parish received and recorded the laymen's library, and the catalog of it differed in many details from the invoice Bray drew up.¹⁵ For example, instead of sending the *Discourses on the Nature Necessity & Benefitt of Sacraments* he sent a parcel of *Kind Cautions to Profane*

¹⁵ Vestry Book of St. James's Parish, in Maryland Diocesan Library.

Swearers. Perhaps he recalled his visit to this parish several years before and at the last minute decided to include certain tracts of a more practical nature hoping to reform certain undesirable traits he had noticed in the worthy parishioners.

Much more spectacular than the small laymen's lending libraries was the Bibliothecae Provinciales or Annapolitan Library as it was variously called. This collection contained one thousand and ninety-five books and cost £350.¹⁶ It served as a model for similar although smaller libraries sent to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston and St. George in Bermuda. The catalog of the Annapolitan Library has not been preserved but the manuscript volume entitled "Bibliothecae Provinciales Americanae Being the Registers of Books Sent Towards Laying the Foundation of Five more provincial Libraries in Imitation of that of Annapolis in Maryland" gives a good idea of its contents.¹⁷ Over four hundred volumes belonging to this collection are still preserved at St. John's College.

The Library was begun about 1696 and was largely financed by a grant of one hundred guineas from Princess Anne. In the rough biographical sketch of Bray, written about 1705, mention is made of the founding of the library:

About the same time it was, that the Secretary of Maryland, Sr Thomas Lawrence himself, with Dr. Bray did in behalf of that Province waite upon the then Princess of Denmark, her present Majesty, humbly to request the Gracious Acceptance of the Governours and Countrys Dutiful respects in having Denominated the Metropolis of that Province, and but lately Built, from her Royal Highnesses Name, Annapolis. And soon after he being favoured with a Noble Benefaction from the same Royal Hand towards his Libraries in America, he dedicated the Premier Library in those parts fixed at Annapolis and which has Books of the Choicest Kinds belonging to it to the value of neare 400 £, to her Glorious Memory, by the Title of the Annapolitan Library, which words are inscrib'd upon the several Books, as well in gratitude to her present Majesty, as for their better preservation from Loss or Imbezlement.¹⁸

On September 18, 1696, Sir Thomas Lawrence and members of the Council submitted some proposals to the House of Delegates, one of which was the question where the Annapolitan Library should be placed. A few days later the House discussed the question and

Thought the Commissary's Office of this Province the most propper and fitting place to lodge the said Library in, because first we hope that when

¹⁶ The best account of this library is Ford K. Brown's *The Annapolitan Library at St. John's College, Annapolis, Md.*, 17 pp.

¹⁷ In the Manuscripts of Dr. Bray's Associates, SPG, LC Trans. The New York Public Library also has a transcript.

¹⁸ Bray manuscripts, Sion College Library, folio 39. For a discussion of the source of this biographical sketch see this Magazine, XXXIV, 248 (September, 1939).

the Commissary arrives that office will be annexed to him, and Secondly that being a public office dayly open and attended any person desirous to study or read any of the s^d Books may have recourse thereunto and the use thereof. But we conceive it necessary that the Commissary give security for the keeping of the s^d Library.¹⁹

Some idea of the room proposed for the use of the library can be had from the description of the new State House given in the act directing the use of the various rooms passed in 1697:

. . . the fore porch to be for the Commissary Office of Records of Probat of Wills and Granting Administrations &c to be kept in . . .²⁰

DE
BIBLIOTHECA
ANNOPOLITA
NA

..: SVB :.
AVSPICIIS :.
WILHELMI · III ·

Ownership Marks Stamped in Gilt Letters on Covers of Each
Volume in Annapolitan Library.

The political office of Commissary General had been promised to Bray to help support him during his residence in Maryland, but for some reason he never enjoyed the revenues from that position. During his short stay in the colony he doubtless inspected the library and apparently did not approve of the room in which it was housed. On April 30, 1700 he got a member of the Lower House to propose

. . . that it is absolutely necessary that some Repository or place be particularly appointed to Secure the Publick Library of this Province.²¹

A committee appointed to consider the matter approached the directors of the recently established King William's School and secured their permission to house the library in the school building:

By the Gov^r Trustees and Visitors of the ffree Schoole, May 9th 1700
Agreed that the Library be placed in the ffree schoole in the roome pitched upon untill such time as it can be otherwise Disposed of without any rent or consideration therefore. Signed p Order Wm. Bladen Clk Librⁿ School.²²

¹⁹ *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1693-1697, in Archives of Maryland*, XIX, 486.

²⁰ *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1693-1697, in Archives of Maryland*, XIX, 594-5.

²¹ *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1700-1704, in Archives of Maryland*, XXIV, 47.

²² *Ibid.*, 82.

It was indeed fortunate that the library was moved out of the State House because in 1704 the building was entirely destroyed by fire.

This arrangement served for twenty years, but in 1720 the trustees of King William's School decided to return the custody of the library to the government. Perhaps the school building was crowded and space was needed for enlarged classes, or it is possible that the heavy theological books were no longer used by the teachers and students. On October 24, 1720, Thomas Bordley and Amos Garrett were ordered to arrange with workmen and to provide materials for furnishing "the room over the new back building and to make it fit for Receiveing [*sic*] the Publick Library. . . ." The school was given £86 for the rent of the room which had been used for the library.²³

The room in the State House was not prepared according to the orders of the Lower House and the books were piled on the floor. In 1723 Reverend Samuel Skippon found them in this condition and petitioned the Upper House that:

. . . the provincial library now lying on Heaps in the Council House may be placed upon Shelves to prevent the Books from being Destroyed by the injuries of the weather, and in order to make them usefull to the Province . . .²⁴

The two Houses conferred together, and appointed a joint committee which reported on October 14, 1723:

The said Committee Agrees with John Smith of Annapolis Joyner to fix cases in the Conference Chamber for the Preservation of the Provincial Library with strong Shelves and partitions at Convenient Distances with six large Sash Doors which Cases are to begin at the Back of the door of the said Chamber and to be Continued to the Window on the West Side of the Room and from the said window to the Closet Door on the same Side of the Room to be the full height of the Room and fifteen or sixteen Inches in Breadth from the Wainscot, to be fill'd with pannels of good wainscot as high as the Surbase of the Room, and all Above that height to be well sash'd with Glass to find three good hinges two Plate Bolts, and one good Lock and Key to each Door and all other materials necessary for Compleating the said Work (Sash Glass only excepted) which work the said Smith promises compleatly to finish by Christmas next according to the Direction and approbation of the Reverend Samuel Skippon.²⁵

The books have been moved about Annapolis several times since and were probably turned over to St. John's College in 1789 when King William's School was absorbed. The other Provincial libraries have been burned or destroyed with the exception of a few volumes

²³ *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1720-1723*, in *Archives of Maryland*, XXXIV, 95.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 511-512.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 535.

preserved at the New York Society Library, and about two hundred books now in the Boston Athenaeum.

The Provincial libraries sent to the other colonial towns were carefully classified under the following subdivisions. The number of volumes sent to New York and Boston respectively is shown after the subject heading: ²⁸

SUBJECT	NEW YORK	BOSTON
I. The H. Script: w th Commentators.....	23	20
II. Fathers	7	17
III. Discourses Apologetical.....	9	3
IIII. Bodies of Divinity both Catechetical & Scholastical	14	9
V. On y ^e Gen ^l Doctrine of y ^e Cov ^t of Grace and On the Creed—both y ^e whole Body of Credenda & on particular Articles.....	18	22
VI. Of Moral Laws & X ^{an} Duties.....	28	18
VII. Of Repent: & Mortificacon.....	3	1
VIII. Of Divine Assistance, Prayer and y ^e Sacram ^{ts} — those Means of performing the foregoing Articles.....	10	8
IX. Sermons	34	14
X. Ministerial Directories.....	5	8
XI. Controversial	19	14
XII. Historical and Geographical—		
i. Humanity, viz ^t Ethicks & Oeconomicks...	6	3
ii. Polity & Law.....	0	0
iii. History and its Appendages—Chronology, Geography, Voyages and Travails.....	23	12
iiii. Physiology, Anatomy, Chirurgery & Medicine	2	0
v. Mathematics & Trade.....	0	1
vi. Grammars & Lexicons.....	6	2
vii. Rhetorick	1	0
viii. Logick.....	1	0
ix. Poetry	3	0
x. Miscellanies	6	0

Under the heading of "Humanity" were Plutarch's *Works* in Greek and Latin; Vergil, Horace and Terence *ad usum Delphini*; Pliny and Epictetus. Among the titles under the division of history were Sir Richard Baker's *Chronology of the Kings of England*; Sir William Dugdale's *View of the late Troubles*; Dupin's *Ecclesiastical History of the first Centuries*; Bishop Taylor's *Life of Christ*; *Lives of the Fathers*; Purnel's *History of the Reformation*; *Observations Historical and Genealogical of the Princes of Europe*; and Paren-

²⁸ The catalog of the books sent to New York is analyzed in Austin B. Keep's *History of the New York Society Library*, New York, 1908, pp. 12-13. The information about the Boston Provincial Library is taken from the "Register of Books" in the "Bibliothecae Provinciales Americanae" in the manuscripts of Dr. Bray's Associates, pp. 3-18.

nius's *Geography with Tanton's Maps*. Leighburn's *Cursus Mathematicus* in folio was the sole volume of pure science. Littleton's Dictionary and a Greek and Latin lexicon and grammar were probably sent to Annapolis. *The Art of Speaking* and *The Art of Thinking* were included for the improvement of the clergy. The few volumes of poetry sent included *Poetae Antiqui*, *Euchanani Psalmi* and Milton's *Paradise Lost*. The rest of the books were theological works.

There is unfortunately no way of knowing how important the Annapolitan, the parochial and the laymen's libraries were in the cultural life of the colony. No record has been found showing contemporary opinion when they were received, and the letterbooks of eighteenth century laymen in Maryland are silent about the use made of them. The parochial libraries were mentioned on a few occasions by the colonial clergy in their correspondence with the Bishop of London. In 1724 in reply to a query about the condition of the parochial libraries each clergyman who received the circular letter replied telling of the size of his collection and the frequency of the visitations of the vestry. Those who had not at that time received libraries were particularly careful to show the need of one. Thomas Thomson, rector of Dorchester Parish, replied that:

I have no parochial Library, w^{ch} hath been & still is a great discouragement & detriment to myself and several others of my well disposed people who are addicted to reading.²⁷

Reverend Samuel Skippon, rector of St. Anne's Parish in Annapolis, who was responsible for rescuing the Annapolitan Library when he found it lying on the floor in the State House wrote:

Here is a tollerable good Provincial Library, but no parochial one. The books are well preserved.²⁸

These references are practically the only evidence to show the books were appreciated. But the fact that such a large proportion of the books in the personal libraries of Marylanders were of the same character as those in the church libraries would indicate that Bray's benefactions were probably well used.²⁹

The Quakers looked upon Bray's library projects with a mixture of scorn and fear. Shortly after his return from Maryland, Bray published *A Memorial Representing The Present State of Religion on the Continent of North-America* in which he made several biting criticisms of the Quakers. Joseph Wyeth, the Quaker's champion in

²⁷ W. S. Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, Maryland, IV, 231.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

²⁹ This will be discussed in the next article in this series.

England, immediately published *Remarks on Dr. Bray's Memorial*. The sarcastic comparison which he made between Christ's disciples and Dr. Bray's missionaries must have aroused the wrath of that venerable clergyman. Wyeth wrote:

The Apostles needed not *Librarian* to render them *Useful* where they came; so that it's plain, there is very great odds between the *Ministry* that God sends, and the *Missionaries* that Dr. Bray requires. The first could Preach by the help of the *Spirit* without books: But his may Preach by the help of Books without the Spirit. Thus the *Doctor* will make his *Missionaries* resemble the Apostles in Practice, such as the *Blacks* in the Plantations resemble the *whites* in complexion.³⁰

In spite of his critics Bray retained his interest in his libraries until his death on February 15, 1730. Just before embarking for Maryland in 1700 he inspected the lending library at Gravesend which had been established for the use of the clergy, gentlemen and naval officers who had to wait there for a favorable wind before sailing. After visiting it he wrote in his journal:

Some perhaps will Censure me in w^t I have Endeavour'd here, and Else where in England of this Kind, as going beyond my lind [?]. Let it be as it will. I shall now once for all, declare, y^t were my power and Interest equall to my Inclinations, the Clergy in no part of Christendom, much less at Home, should be Destitute for me of Books, requisite to Enable them to Instruct [?]. & Mankind in all things necessary to Salvation. And therefore in what part of the world I shall at any time Sink in my Breath, or it may please God to Send me; I shall not cease to do y^e utmost I can, to Advance in a more peculiar manner, this Design.³¹

It is difficult to overemphasize the importance of Bray's contributions to the cultural development of Maryland in the eighteenth century. The Established Church, an institution which together with the schools and the printing press, stimulated the intellectual life of the colony, received much of its early impetus from Dr. Bray who carefully selected clergymen for service in the new world and provided material support for them so that the quality of the clergy would remain high. But his libraries and the three societies which he founded, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and Dr. Bray's Associates, all brought into being with the high purpose of disseminating religion and knowledge, will always be considered his greatest achievements. Such a contribution in a rude and sparsely settled land was indeed of noble proportions, and is an enduring monument to a zealous churchman and scholar.

³⁰ Joseph Wyeth, *Remarks on Dr. Bray's Memorial*, London, 1701, p. 36.

³¹ The entry was made under December 16, 1699. Sion College Mss., LC Trans. Folio 84a. The Journal was written for the members of the SPCK.

EARLY ANNAPOLIS RECORDS ¹

By M. L. RADOFF

The following is a list of the Annapolis town records from the earliest extant to the beginning of the nineteenth century. With the exception of the first book on the list, "Liber B," which is in the Land Office, located in the Hall of Records at Annapolis, the whole series is now in the Hall of Records proper. In addition, the Hall has the minutes of the Corporation until the charter change of 1819 and some other miscellaneous material of an even later date. The more recent records are to be found in the municipal building on Duke of Gloucester Street, Annapolis.

The records of Annapolis began with the incorporation in 1708 and there were records for the port prior to that. Provision was made for the storage of records in the first capitol: The council considered a bill on June 5, 1697 "for directing & appoynting to what use the severall roomes in the state house at Annapolis shall be applyed to. Read first time It being proposed that one of the upper roomes in the highest storey on the right hand be set aside for the Towne Clk. to keepe his office in." ² The town clerk was the only officer mentioned at this time. "An Act directing & appoynting to what use the severall Roomes in the State house in the Towne & port of Annapolis shall be appoynted" ³ doubtless the same as the above, was approved and signed by the governor on June 11. The full Act gives the quarters for every officer, " . . . in the two Rooms on the Right Hand in the upper Loft one for the County Clarke to keep the County Records in and the other for Annapolis Town Clark to keep his papers in. . . . " ⁴

The town clerk of the incorporated town of Annapolis never used this room, for the state house built in 1697 burned in 1704 four years before the granting of a charter. The earlier port clerk may have been discouraged by the proposed ordinance that "noe tobacco be smoaked in any of the roomes of the State house under a penalty of 10s to his Ma^{ty} towards repairing the said State house." ⁵ In any case the records for the port and early charter period have disappeared. It is more than likely that such records as existed for the

¹ A part of this article was prepared while the author was connected with the Historical Records Survey of the Works Progress Administration; he was assisted in the Annapolis work by Francis J. Laing and Miss Beatrice Shoenig also of the Survey.

² *Archives*, XIX, 536.

³ *Ibid.*, 551.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 595.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 546.

port and town before the incorporation were not preserved among the records of the town after the incorporation, for their nature must have changed radically with the change in town government and their usefulness would have been very small. It is probable that in 1708 a new set of books was started beginning with Liber A which has disappeared. Only external evidence of record-making exists until July 26, 1721. For example, there are three curious depositions to be found in the Black Book series of the Maryland Archives. I give the shortest statement:

William Cumming of the City of Annapolis declares that at a Mayors Court held sometime in January last at Mr. Kennedys house, after Court the Mayor Recorder and some of the Aldermen being in Company drinking Severall healths, I heard it debated whether or not my Lord Baltimore was in the same Station here as the Princes of the Empire of Germany, my causa scientica Mr. Griffith, Johnson the Barber being standing by I said to Mr. Griffith, My Lord Baltimore has several tenants here of more opulent fortunes than severall of the Princes of Germany but who spoke the words or introduced the discourse I cannot charge my memory with."⁶

From the mayor's deposition we learn that this incident, which seems to have aroused resentment, occurred in January 1719/20.

After the two-year period for which we have records (July 1720-April 1722) there is another long gap until 1757. A hint as to the fate of the records of this period is given in a report of the Committee of Aggrievances and Courts of Justice to the Lower House on Monday, September 23, 1745:

Your Committee have likewise inspected the Mayors' Court Office of the City of Annapolis and find the said Office in very confused order, Papers of different Sorts promiscuously in a Tub, and trod underfoot; . . . we conceive the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen should be directed to order the said office be kept in better Order; . . .⁷

Whatever the cause, nothing now remains of the Annapolis City records before 1757 except the two years of Corporation and Mayor's Court proceedings found in Liber B. This book was preserved no doubt because it came shortly to be devoted exclusively to the recording of land indentures for Annapolis, and these were, of course, considered to be of much more importance than other records. There is no record of the transfer of this book from the custody of the town to the Land Office; all that we can certainly know is that it was there when the oldest present employe of the land office took up his duties, some forty years ago.

⁶ 3; no. 21. The other two are nos. 25 and 27 the latter being the Mayor's.

⁷ *Archives*, XLIV, 182.

The books in the Hall of Records were transferred from the Municipal building in May, 1937, subject to recall by the municipality. They were without titles or labelling of any kind except for an occasional "Misc."; the numbers used below are temporary numbers given the volumes for the convenience of researchers. The reader will note the curious types of material which were bound together (the binding seems to be no older than the last half of the century). Only a few of the volumes were originally books, the rest are merely catch-alls for loose papers which were taken out of miscellaneous files and bound together without any consideration for subject or date. There is little pagination, and the material is as likely to start from the back as from the front of the book and is almost certain to reverse the initial order at least once in each volume. It is hoped that this analysis will encourage researches to use these books, for they are full of good Annapolis material which has been most difficult to handle in the past.

Liber B. 452 pp. (On flyleaf appears "Mayor's Court Proceedings Beginning in the Year 1720—John Talbott CLK" and the same in a different hand, written the length of the page and to which is added in pencil "to May 1784") Mayor's Court proceedings July 26, 1720, pp. 1-10; Corporation minutes, August 1, 1720, pp. 11-12; Corporation, Sept. 29, 1720, pp. 12-13; Mayor's Court—October 25, 1720, pp. 13-14; Mayor's Court, October 29, 1720, pp. 14-17; Mayor's Court, January 17, 1720/21, pp. 18-26; Corporation, March 3, 1720/21, pp. 27-32; Mayor's Court, April 25, 1721, pp. 32-34; Corporation, May 1, 1721, pp. 35-37; Indentures, 37-48; Mayor's Court, July 25, 1721, p. 49; Corporation, Sept. 6, 1721, pp. 49-51; Corporation, Sept. 29, 1721, pp. 51-52; Mayor's Court, October 31, 1721, pp. 53-53; Mayor's Court, Nov. 7, 1721, pp. 54-71; Blank pages, pp. 72-88; Corporation, April 5, 1722, p. 89; Indentures, pp. 90-117; Mayor's Court, April 24, 1722, pp. 119-123; Indentures, pp. 125-452. Indentures cover the period from 1720 to 1784. Index for Indentures only, alph. by grantee in small vol. attached to back of book. 15" x 10½" x 2".

No title, No. 1, marked 1753 to 1757. 150 pp. (111 used). Minutes of the mayor's court only, from October 30, 1753, to February 11, 1757. There is record here of the court's appointing days for meetings of the corporation, but there is no record of the meetings themselves. No index. 13" x 8" x 1".

No title, No. 2. Approx. 352 pp. containing meeting of the corporation August 13, 1757-January 1765; law preventing the bringing in of persons with contagious diseases, p. 223; last page states: "Rest of proceedings January 1765 are in succeeding Liber TH No. [no number covered by binding.]" No index. 13" x 8" x 1½".

No title, No. 3, marked 1766 to 1772. Approx. 200 pp. containing court records only. No index. 13" x 8" x 1".

No title, No. 4. Approx. 500 pp. (1-30 numbered). (On flyleaf appears "Proceedings of the Mayor's Court of Annapolis." Flyleaf in back, "Pro-

ceedings of the Corporation of the City of Annapolis.") 32 pp. used for mayor's court April 29, 1783-January 28, 1785; 6 pp. used for corporation April 29, 1783-November 3, 1783. After seven blank pages, reading from back of vol., mayor's court again appears from January 7, 1789-April 28, 1790. No index. 16" x 10" x 2".

Misc., No. 5. Approx. 250 pp. containing license book 1823, 1825-26; 2 pp. of miscellaneous receipts of clerk 1826, including exhibitions from 1826-January 1829; mayor's court 1803, 1804; oaths of officers (test book) from April 12, 1819-April 1825, 1828-30; 31 pp. of various oaths for the use of the clerk of court with parenthetical heading on first page, " (Harriss' entries)," from which it is copied, no date; 2 pp. of annual appointments made by mayor's court and corporation in the month of January; 8 pp. of corporation meetings, January 23, 1780, February 4, 1781, March 18, 1781, April 7, 1781; 18 pp. of mayor's court August 22, 1780-March 31, 1781; 10 pp. of license book for 1828; 20 pp. of mayor's court docket for January term 1792; 32 pp. of mayor's court from January term, 1782, to October term, 1782. No index. 8½" x 7" x 1".

Misc., No. 6. Approx. 250 pp. (On flyleaf appears "The Mayor's Court Minute Book August 1st 1783"), July 29, 1783, to October 25, 1785, followed immediately by "Mayor's Court Docket to July Term 1801," January term 1801 to 1803 for half of book, no pagination, *circa* 150 pp.; 60 pp. of minutes of the corporation from August 25, 1811, to March 10, 1819; 16 pp. of list of jurors at the mayor's court, January term, 1813, followed by minutes of the court from January term, 1813, to February term, 1813; list of jurors for January term, 1814, and minutes of the court ending March 14, 1814; list of jurors for January term, 1815, and minutes of the court from January term, 1815, through June term, 1818. No index. 14" x 9" x 1½".

No title, No. 7. Approx. 250 pp. containing continuance docket, of which first page is to January term, 1790. Halfway through volume is statement, "Mayor's Court Docket January — [and in pencil in a modern hand] 1787; 16 pp. of tax assessments of Annapolis for 1825 (apparently only this one year), followed by additions; 42 pp. of minutes of the mayor's court, July 8, 1801, to November 11, 1803, and 62 pp. for 1804 to August, 1807. No index. 15¾" x 10" x 1".

Misc., No. 8. Approx. 150 pp. containing 28 pp. of mayor's court January term, 1811, through February term, 1812; meeting of corporation April 20, 1789, through August 1794, including a meeting of October, 1791, during which a by-law was passed "to revise the proceedings of the mayor's court"; several loose pages, numbered 85-113, of mayor's court from January 30, 1793, through February 3, 1794, followed by several loose pages of 1794 docket which should follow above almost immediately; returns of elections to Congress, 1789; poll taken for election of members of common council, 1793; several pages of minutes of corporation July 3, 1790; several pages of court minutes January 28, 1779; minutes of the corporation from July 8, 1801, to August 17, 1811; several loose pages in back of book "Mayor's Court Docket," the terms of April, July, October 1803. No index. 13" x 8" x 1".

No title, No. 9. Approx. 150 pp. (This volume is composed almost entirely of original papers, unfolded and so bound.) Contains 2 pp. of minutes of corporation, January 6, 1800; mayor's court, January 20, 1800, through February, 1800; minutes of corporation from March 7, 1800, through July, 1800; mayor's court from January 29, 1799, to March, 1799; mayor's court from January 30, 1798, to April, 1798. The following items begin from back of book: mayor's court, January, 1783; minutes of corporation from April 29, 1783, to March 9, 1784 (a pencil note saying these proceedings have been recorded); mayor's court—rough minutes, 1793; minutes of corporation, September, 1798, to December, 1798; docket, January term, 1806; mayor's court, October, 1792, January, 1794. No index. 13" x 8" x 1".

No title, No. 10. Approx. 150 pp. containing mayor's court docket for January terms, 1790, 1794, 1795; minute book, mayor's court, January term, 1795; dockets, January terms, 1796, 1791, 1801; proceedings of mayor's court from September, 1795, to March, 1796; corporation minutes from September 5, 1796, to October 31, 1797; corporation minutes from April, 1799, to October, 1799; court minutes from April, 1799, to October, 1799; docket, January term, 1799, 1800; docket, July term, 1800; rough docket and summons docket, January term, 1805. No index. 13" x 8" x 1".

Misc., No. 11. Approx. 125 pp. (On flyleaf appears "Liber E. F. No. 1 Containing Bye-Laws 1760.") Contains new set of by-laws of July 29, 1760; reading from back of volume, 26 pp. of by-laws from February, 1797, to April, 1799. No index. 13" x 8" x 1".

Misc., No. 12. Approx. 150 pp. (On flyleaf appears "Minute Book of the Corporation of the City of Annapolis July 1800—.") Contains corporation minutes from August 19, 1800, to February, 1801; minutes of mayor's court from January 27, 1801, to October, 1801 (bound to read from both front and back); mayor's court then badly mixed, 1787, 1806, 1807, 1792, January term, 1805; rough minutes, October, 1806. No index. 13" x 8" x 1".

Journal, 1783-1784, No. 13. Approx. 30 pp. containing several loose papers of corporation minutes, March 6, 1795; mayor's court, January 26, 1796. The book proper contains 22 pp. used for corporation minutes, April 29, 1783, to August 26, 1784. No index. 13" x 8" x 1/4".

Chronological Sequence of Proceedings of the Corporation is as follows: 1720-22 Liber B; 1757 Vol. 2; 1765 Vol. 2; 1780 Vol. 5; 1781 Vol. 5; 1783 Vols. 4, 9, 13; 1784 Vols. 4, 9, 13; 1785 Vol. 14; 1789-1791 Vol. 8; 1795 Vol. 13; 1796-1797 Vol. 10; 1798 Vol. 9; 1799 Vol. 10; 1800 Vols. 9, 12; 1801 Vol. 12.

Chronological Sequence of all types of Mayor's Court Records: 1720-22, Liber B; 1753-57 Vol. 1; 1766-72 Vol. 3; 1779 Vol. 8; 1780-81 Vol. 5; 1782 Vol. 5; 1783 Vols. 9, 6; 1784 Vol. 6; 1785, Vol. 6; 1787 Vols. 7, 12; 1789-1790 Vols. 4, 7, 10; 1791 Vol. 10; 1792, Vols. 5, 11, 9, 12; 1793 Vols. 9, 8; 1794 Vols. 10, 9, 8; 1795, 1796 Vols. 10, 13; 1798 Vol. 9; 1799 Vols. 9, 10; 1800 Vols. 9, 10; 1801 Vols. 10, 12, 6, 7; 1802 Vols. 6, 7; 1803 Vols. 6, 7, 5, 8, 12; 1804 Vols. 5, 7; 1805, Vols. 7, 12, 10; 1806 Vols. 9, 12; 1807 Vol. 12; 1811, 1812 Vol. 8; 1813, 1814 Vol. 6; 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818 Vol. 6.

Hall of Records, Annapolis.

BOOK REVIEWS

Lewis Evans. By LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON. To which is added Evans' *A Brief Account of Pennsylvania* [and other Essays and Maps]. Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1939. 246 pp. \$7.50.

This probably definitive account of one who is best known as an early cartographer in this country, and collection of his publications, including maps, consists of seventy-five pages relating what is known of his life and publications; followed by about a hundred and seventy pages of reprints of articles and maps which were published by him.

Little is known of his early life, before he came to Pennsylvania. He was born about 1700, and as his name might indicate (e. g., Sir Hugh Evans, in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*), was a Welshman by birth and family. He is found established in Philadelphia in 1736, apparently after having travelled extensively, as references in his publications imply. He there carried on the business or profession of a surveyor and draftsman. There is still in existence a specimen of his work as an engrosser, in the form of the Articles of Association, or Deed of Settlement, of an early insurance association in Philadelphia, a document on a roll of parchment fifteen feet long with signatures extending it to forty-four feet. For this he was paid through Franklin £2.9. He also gave public lectures on scientific subjects, especially electricity, which he had studied under the guidance of Franklin. He was not only intimate with Franklin, but with other scientists of his time, and Peter Kalm, the Swedish botanist who laid the foundation for a systematic study of the plants of North America (and for whom our "laurel," or ivy as it is commonly called in the South, was given its scientific name, and the name by which it is known in England as an ornamental bush; "*Kalmia*") referred to him as "that ingenious engineer Lewis Evans," and as the source of much of the information which he had obtained.

But it is for his maps, and the articles which were published in connection with them, that he is known to posterity.

The earliest of his known maps is a plat which was not published, but a facsimile of which is prefixed to the present volume. It is a survey of the celebrated "Walking Purchase," dated 1738, or in the year following that transaction with the Indians, by which they agreed to surrender to the Pennsylvanians their rights in so much land as could be walked around in one day. By methods not unlike the legendary account of how Queen Dido acquired from the natives the original site of Carthage, under a grant of so much land as could be enclosed or covered by a bull's hide, this was extended to include an immense area of land on the upper Delaware.

The earliest published map is that of 1749, embracing what would now be called the Middle Atlantic States. It appears to have displeased Thomas Penn, then the Chief Proprietary of Pennsylvania, because it did not indicate the boundaries of Pennsylvania, which were in dispute on different sides, to the full extent as claimed by Pennsylvania, and he also wrote: "What he can take notice of Cressap's Settlement for, I cannot conceive, unless to oblige the Government of Maryland."

It might be supposed that this refers to Col. Cresap's settlement at Oldtown on the Potomac, which had then existed for several years, and was not beyond the limits of the Pennsylvania claims. Reference to the map shows however no indication of Cresap's settlement on the Potomac, but the word "Cressop" on the Susquehanna where crossed by the Road to Lancaster, the site of the so-called "Conojacular War" (*Md. Hist. Mag.*, IX, p. 1), a location abandoned by Cresap many years before. It is omitted on the second edition of the map in 1752.

Some efforts were made on behalf of the Pennsylvania Proprietors to employ Evans to explore the western bounds of Pennsylvania, and elaborate instructions were prepared for such an expedition. Evans demanded one hundred guineas for his services, besides travelling expenses, instruments and certain guarantees if he should be captured by the Indians or sent as a prisoner to France. The expedition was not undertaken.

Subsequently, in 1753, Evans offered his services to Maryland in the contest then pending over the boundary with Pennsylvania, and he seems to have contemplated removing to Maryland if his offer were accepted. It was favorably received by Governor Sharpe, who advanced him £96 for expenses of procuring abstracts from the early Dutch records of New York. Secretary Calvert, uncle of the then minor Lord Baltimore, rejected the offer. He was especially displeased because Evans had said in his memorial submitted that in the agreement between Penn and Baltimore (which later was the basis for the suit in the English Court of Chancery by which the boundary was ultimately established), it had been admitted that the boundary was in the latitude between 39 and 40, and not precisely 40.

In 1755 Evans published his best known map covering a much larger territory, and especially the valley of the Ohio River and other territory in dispute with France. An advance copy of this map was sent by Governor Morris to Sir John St. Clair for the use of Braddock's expedition. With the map was published an "Analysis" explaining it, and giving many details about the country; especially urging that the French be not allowed to preempt the western lands before they were occupied by the English.

This publication was reviewed in several English periodicals, including a review by Dr. Samuel Johnson. Dr. Johnson, while praising the clearness and elegance of the map and treatise, complained of the latter as being "not without some admixture of the American Dialect." He agreed with Evans that any fear that the colonies would ever attempt to break off their dependence on England, was "chimerical and vain"; but differed from Evans' view that settlements should at once be established on the Ohio, because "since the end of all human actions is happiness, why should any number of our inhabitants be banished to a trackless * desert."

After Braddock's defeat, there was some public criticism of Evans' statements, especially his conclusion that the route by the Potomac was the best

* What Dr. Johnson meant would be, in modern form, and perhaps more correctly in his own time, of course "trackless." However destitute of ways of communication the valley of the Ohio then was, it was not without extensive tracts of land, though unsettled by whites. In his own dictionary Dr. Johnson after giving the usual meanings of "tract," adds that the word seems to be sometimes used by Shakspere as meaning "track." As he is critical of Evans' English, it is perhaps not out of place to notice to this extent his own usage. The interchangeable use of "track" and "tract" is common in provincial records and maps.

to the Ohio country (in which Washington, it may be noted, agreed with him). This led to the publication of his second "Analysis" as it is called in the present publication, being an answer to such criticisms. This contained severe comments on the actions of Pennsylvania officials, and Evans seems to have found it necessary to remove to New York, in order to escape prosecution in Pennsylvania. There however he was pursued by Governor Morris with a civil suit for libel, on which he was arrested and confined in jail until he should give security in the action, which he appears to have been unable to do. Before his case reached trial, he died in 1756, of illness aggravated by his hardships.

His general map of 1755 was the basis for subsequent maps for a long period, and his maps and his articles played no small part in the final determination of the territorial controversy with the French. It is very fitting that Lewis Evans should have been selected for a work of this character (which cannot be adequately published in reliance on popular support) by the Pennsylvania Historical Society. The Author's part is clear and well written, and of course well documented. The typography and arrangement are excellent, and combine to make a handsome and permanent volume.

CHARLES MCH. HOWARD.

Happy Days: 1880-1892. By H. L. MENCKEN. New York, Knopf, 1940. 313 pp. \$2.75.

Mr. Mencken was born on Defenders Day, 1880, so that his extremely personal story of the first twelve years of his life is, to a full half of us, very recent history indeed. If we consider his book as the story of an aspect of Baltimore city and its environs, which to a large extent it is, then it is a story very familiar and dear to many of us. The streets and alleys of the town in which we grew up, the cobble-stones and the grass which grew between them, the horse cars, the parks and squares, the policemen, the street games, the picnics, the corner grocers and their wares, the cooks and the candies—all these remembered details emerge with such vividness that they provoke at times an almost unendurable nostalgia.

But though Mr. Mencken professes to regard himself as a normal boy, in a normal family, indulging in normal pastimes and getting normal pleasures from these pastimes, it is very clear to the reader, after a few pages, that from the very beginning this product of a Baltimore family was seeing more clearly and judging more exactly even in those early days than most of us were able to do. It wasn't only that he had a good time,—he knew he was having a good time and he knew why he was having a good time. If this had not been true, if he had not at that early age seen life as a pattern, he could not have remembered so much of its detail nor have been able in after years to set that detail down in its proper perspective.

The plain truth is that the author of this book and of so much other writing which has by turns infuriated and delighted his fellow citizens has been, for all his pretense, a sensitive individual with a highly developed power of selection (i. e. an artist) from the very beginning. Reading these pages, superficially so artless and so casual, one reaches the conclusion that even in his infancy Mr. Mencken was not only living his normal life, but that already

he was making mental notes on it as possible literary material; that indeed, he chose to live the sort of life which would make the sort of autobiography he intended to write. It is almost as if he had foreseen the later phenomenon which is called proletarian literature and had determined to prove, in his own existence, its falsity, or at least its lack of universality. His own childhood, he insists, had no psychological, sociological or politico-economic significance. It was placid, secure, uneventful and happy. "We were encapsulated in affection," he writes, "and kept fat, saucy and contented." So, I suspect, were most American children at that time, and before and since, even though in these later days at some occasional cost to the taxpayer.

Obviously, the man who doesn't blame his parents or his times or his environment for his shortcomings is either an unusual man or else a peculiarly honest one. Mr. Mencken seems to be both.

HAMILTON OWENS.

Tangier Island, a Study of an Isolated Group. By S. WARREN HALL, III. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939. x, 122 pp. \$1.50.

This book is an investigation of the social organization of Tangier Island, Virginia, and considers all the aspects relevant to the problem of a social unit of some 1100 people. After making himself familiar with the comparatively small amount of written material about the island, Mr. Hall went and lived on the island and from the inhabitants themselves became familiar with the place and its customs. The best way, according to the author, to understand present-day conditions on Tangier Island is to observe how traditions of the past stand in open opposition to the liberal tendencies of the present.

Although Tangier has been little affected by important political events in American history, it has, however, been profoundly affected by Methodism. It was spread among the islanders by the emotional Joshua Thomas whose strict doctrines and those of other early Methodists still influence the islanders. From the close of the Civil War until as recently as 1928 the social structure of the island has remained the same. It was not until then and the following years that the introduction of movies, radios and other factors in modern American life changed this. Movies were introduced in 1929 over the protests of the conservatives and church people. The attempt of the older people to preserve the religious traditions of the early days is resented by many of the younger generation, some of whom leave the island, while others join the group opposed to the control of the church people.

In defense of their rigid views, Tangiermen maintain that where so many people are crowded together on a small island life would be unbearable if relations were not ordered, organized and enforced.

Whatever one's views of the social aspects of life on Tangier, there are some distinct advantages to be gained by living there. For those who dislike this machine age it must be a relief to find a place where there are no automobiles. Tangier is also doubly blessed in having no lawyers and only one doctor. There were two doctors at one time but it appears that one shot the other.

The next to last chapter has an interesting comparison of Tangier Island with Smith Island, Maryland, which lies to the north of Tangier. On Smith

Island, it appears, there is a type of Methodism more comforting and gentle and less used for the social control of the young and those who vary from commonly accepted standards of behaviour. As a result, says Hall, "there is more harmony between generations. Change has come slowly and gracefully. Religion has yielded more comfort and less repression."

Because of the amount of detail that has gone into this study, the reader of *Tangier Island* will receive a vivid if somewhat depressing impression of life on that island.

RAPHAEL SEMMES.

The Baltimore and Ohio in the Civil War. By FESTUS P. SUMMERS. New York, Putnam's [1939], 304 pp. \$3.00.

Often a contribution to American history is valuable without being interesting. This work of Professor Summers is both. It presents a scholarly, objective, and conscientious approach to the subject in hand with literary execution of unusual excellence.

With reference to the War between the States, the work is far more important than its apparently limited scope would indicate. The maps showing military operations concerning the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad are most useful, and among a number of well chosen—and unusual—illustrations is one of Lincoln, McClellan, and John W. Garrett at Antietam. This Brady war photograph has frequently been presented with Garrett omitted. Professor Summers properly restores Garrett to the picture as the most forceful and important railroad executive of war times. Garrett, be it remembered, was the president of the only railroad connecting Washington with the North and West—a railroad whose capable officials could and did ignore, on occasion, commands from major generals to the imminent risk not of the railroad officials but of the Federal officers who attempted interference with orders issued at Washington and sustained by the United States government.

President Lincoln himself depended at times on Garrett for military information not otherwise immediately attainable; and once, against Lincoln's wishes, Secretary Stanton and Garrett collaborated in effecting the most extensive and rapid movement of troops over the greatest distance ever achieved; viz., the transfer of upwards of fifteen thousand men by rail from tidewater Virginia to mid-Tennessee. This undertaking, after Rosecrans' disastrous defeat at Chickamauga, turned the fortunes of war in the West.

The Baltimore and Ohio, through its officials, was largely responsible for the removal of the incompetent Cameron as Secretary of War, while the energy, ability, and efficiency of its president was the principal factor in saving the railroad systems generally from falling under government ownership, as, for a time, seemed likely with the prospect of Federal construction of new roads north and west to parallel or supplant private enterprise, a plan favored, for a time at least, by President Lincoln as an exercise of "war powers." In this connection, Professor Summers brings out the services of Senator James A. Pearce of Maryland, who prophesied a loss of efficiency under governmental control that would be disastrous in the prosecution of the war.

Professor Summers points out that, owing to its strategic position, "the Baltimore and Ohio Railway was elevated to national importance," and that

when cut at times by Confederate operations, its reclamation "became second only to the opening of the Mississippi." In military annals it was "the first railroad to play a leading part in the drama of war," and no other railroad was so vital to the Union cause.

For good or ill, the Baltimore and Ohio was instrumental, or at least influential, in establishing the bounds of a new State; in fact, the writer would go further than Professor Summers in ascribing to the political activities of the Baltimore and Ohio representatives the addition, under war conditions, to West Virginia of the Valley counties east of the Alleghanies. This addition was undoubtedly against the will of the people, but the "free expression of popular opinion" called for by the creators of West Virginia was limited to those who were likely to vote for the transfer—under the persuasive "protection" of Federal bayonets.

MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS.

Marshall and Taney, Statesmen of the Law. By BEN W. PALMER. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1939. viii, 281 pp. \$3.50.

Since the publication of Albert J. Beveridge's monumental biography of Chief Justice Marshall in 1916 there have been many attempts to interpret American history through the lives of judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. No author has seriously attempted to compete with the Beveridge study of Marshall, although additional data have been provided in studies of Thomas Jefferson and in Charles Warren's *The Supreme Court in United States History*. Until 1922 there was no biography of Chief Justice Taney worthy of the name except John Tyler's authorized volume published in 1872, although Warren's work on the Supreme Court reinterpreted Taney's life and showed an understanding of him not colored by the bias on the Civil War conflict. In 1922 Bernard C. Steiner published a new biography of Chief Justice Taney showing the existence of important materials not previously utilized. In 1935 the reviewer published his full length biography of Taney written from a still wider range of materials. In 1936 Charles W. Smith published a volume based largely on an analysis of Taney's opinions. The present joint study of Chief Justices Marshall and Taney is based not upon original research or upon new materials but is rather a popularization of the points of view of Beveridge, Warren, and others.

The volume opens with a chapter entitled "Are Judges Human Beings?" It presents the liberal philosophy of the author and stresses the influence of judicial personalities upon the development of the law. The part of the book dealing with Chief Justice Marshall is a well written interpretative essay based largely, it appears, upon the Beveridge biography. The Taney study seems to have been constructed principally out of materials provided by Warren. The chapters on this subject likewise are well written, although with unfortunate touches of melodrama produced undoubtedly by the desire to escape from weighty legal verbiage into a mode of expression intelligible and pleasing to the lay reader. The book is not a scholarly piece of work in the ordinary sense of the word. No bibliography or footnote citations are provided and sources when indicated at all are given in only the most general way. The value of the book will lie in its popularization of interpreta-

tion worked out by other writers and its presentation in such a form that it may be read by persons who would not have the time or the patience to read more elaborate biographical studies.

CARL BRENT SWISHER.

Historical Sketches of Harford County, Maryland. By SAMUEL MASON, JR. Darlington, Md., the Author, 1940. 119 pp. \$2.25.

This is an informative and very readable book. In its preface, the author modestly disclaims having written "a history," and states that the volume is "rather a series of sketches about our part of Harford County, its activities and industries." Indeed, the book contains little about the general development of the county as a whole, and makes few references to those noted and outstanding historical events and places which have been given prominence in other chronicles. Nor is there in the book, as is frequently found in local histories of various sections, a "glorification of old families," which, Mr. Mason says, "is often a snare and a delusion."

The book's chief interest and value is in the fact that it brings to life again, in a vivid and intriguing way, many of the industries of Harford County which belonged to an earlier day, and which have now all but vanished—particularly industries that flourished in the portion of the county contiguous to the Susquehanna River, and principally during the 19th century.

In the years of the pioneer white settlers, and even during the greater part of the last century, when transportation facilities were limited and primitive, and roads were poor, the county had to be more self-sustaining than it needs to be in the present day. Consequently, there were, as these sketches recount, a great number of water-powered grist-mills scattered throughout the territory, only a few of which remain in operation today. There were bark-mills and tan-yards, none of which still exists, though abandoned tanning pits may still be found in various places. There were several flint mills, lime kilns, and even a paper mill, all of which in their time did a thriving business—but are now but memories. There were numerous saw-mills, a few of which survive, including the Morse mill, near Coopstown, which the author says is probably the oldest saw-mill in the United States. There were great fisheries at several points along the Susquehanna, whose seasonal hauls were phenomenal, and to whose markets trains of "fish wagons" used to come from long distances by land, and boats by water. The county had also, surprisingly, its quota of iron furnaces and forges, which for years belched forth their smoke and fire, but the sites of which are marked now by only mounds of ruins. And running along the border of the county, following the banks of the Susquehanna, there was for many years, until the 1890's, a canal, which descended from the coal-mining sections of Pennsylvania to Havre de Grace—and which has left to this area many traditions of the romantic life of the canal people—a life that had unique characteristics of its own.

This little volume is a welcome and valuable addition to the historical literature of Maryland, and its perusal will provide both interest and enlightenment to any reader.

CHARLES D. HOLLAND.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

- Documents and Readings in the History of Europe since 1918.* By WALTER C. LANGSAM. Chicago, Lippincott [1939]. 865 pp. \$3.75.
- Inventory of the County and Town Archives of Maryland. No. 11. Garrett County (Oakland). No. 15. Montgomery County (Rockville).* Baltimore, Historical Records Survey, 1938 and 1939. Mimeographed. 128 and 319 pp. respectively. Distributed by the Survey.
- Twenty-fourth Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland.* Baltimore, the Society, 1939. 72 pp. Distributed by the Society.
- Mexico at the Bar of Public Opinion.* By BURT M. McCONNELL. New York, Mail and Express Pub. Co., 1939. 320 pp.
- Miscellaneous and Old-Fashioned Love Poems.* By GEORGE CORBIN PERINE. Baltimore, the Author, 1939. 123 pp.
- Peter Wright and Mary Anderson; A Family Record.* By ERNEST NEALL WRIGHT. Ann Arbor, Mich., Edwards Bros., Inc., 1939. 135 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

PORTRAIT OF MISS HARFORD

A large photographic copy of a portrait of Frances Mary Harford, younger sister of Henry Harford, last proprietor of Maryland, has been presented to the Society and hung in the secretary's office. The following account has been prepared by the donor:

Among the less overpowering treasures of the Frick Gallery in New York is a portrait by Romney of a personable young lady in a simple dress of white. Her light brown hair and brown eyes are set against a background of open blue sky; her only ornament is a slender string of pearls worn high on the neck in the fashion of the day. Her expression, as she looks straight out of the canvas, indicates that it might be difficult to disturb her poise, unwise to approach her without formality. Evidently when Romney painted her the wild loveliness of Lady Hamilton was completely out of his mind. It is not a portrait to bring you up short in your tracks; the mood is quiet and the workmanship restrained. If, however, you have been taken by its charm, the catalogue will tell you that the subject is Miss Harford, and if you are a Marylander your interest will be quickened by this name and you will read farther on that she was the natural daughter of Frederick Calvert, Lord Baltimore.

To this fifth and last of Maryland's lords proprietary most historians have given little attention. His career was futile and unsavory, and his memory has been dropped like a piece of soiled linen. He was conspicuous in the London of his day, however, if only as a figure of fun or contempt. "He was one of those worn-out beings," says Winckelmann, "a hipped Englishman, who had lost all moral and physical taste. With an income of £30,000, he knew not how to enjoy it"—a grave reproach this, for in eighteenth-century England a whole class of society existed for the purpose of making

life pleasant and interesting for wealthy members of the aristocracy. It is a fact, however, that with all his great fortune and the prestige of his position he never achieved the grand manner in his dissipations, which were as dull and uninteresting as his travels and ventures into literature.

Frederick Calvert died in Naples in 1771, and although the title became extinct with his death, his will revealed the existence of three irregular families, for whom he had made provision with varying degrees of liberality. Mrs. Hester Wheeland, an Irishwoman, and her two children by Lord Baltimore, Henry Harford and Frances Mary Harford, came off best from a financial point of view. Mrs. Wheeland received an annuity for life; her son, a child then under the care of Rev. Dr. Laxton at Richmond School, was bequeathed the Province of Maryland in tail male; the daughter received £30,000 and a life annuity.

This young lady was nine years old at the time of her father's death. There is no available record of her early life and her upbringing, which must have been discreet, for the next mention we have of her is the announcement of her marriage, in 1784, to the Hon. Frederick William Wyndham, youngest son of the Earl of Egremont, a very great lord. By this time the scandalous life of Frederick Calvert had been largely forgotten, and in those easy-going days a clouded birth was no great handicap to a charming and well-dowered girl.

It is interesting to note, however, that after her marriage an attempt was made to regularize matters as far as possible. In the remarkable collection of Calvert Papers at the Maryland Historical Society, there is a battered but still handsome stamped leather case containing a parchment dated April 6, 1785, which grants to Frances Mary Harford (Mrs. Frederick William Wyndham) the arms of her reputed father, Frederick Calvert, Lord Baltimore, "with such variations as may be necessary." This parchment gaily colored and heavy with seals, is signed by Isaac Heard, Garter Principal King at Arms, and Thomas Lock, Clarenceux King of Arms.

The mists of the past obscure the last years of Frances Mary Harford's life as completely as her earlier days. Even the date of her death is not recorded. "Some time before 1828," says one chronicler. Her eldest son, George Francis Wyndham, became fourth Earl of Egremont in 1837, dying without legitimate issue. The Romney portrait—which, according to the authorities of the Frick Gallery, was painted between 1780 and 1783, before the marriage of the subject—hung for many years at Petworth, one of the great houses of England. It was inherited by George Wyndham, adopted son of the third Earl, to whom the estates passed, and was sold at Christie's in 1892. In 1902 it was gathered in by Mr. Frick. This is the scanty sum of our knowledge of a lady with whom one would like to become better acquainted.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF CARROLL COUNTY

The beginnings of the Historical Society of Carroll County, Maryland, Inc., were formulated when a group of interested persons met on February 2, 1939, at the residence of Mrs. Harry M. Kimmey, Westminster. On March 11th, a meeting held at the Westminster High School was attended by representatives from the Carroll County Society of Baltimore City and by

about sixty persons from all parts of the county. The society was organized and the following officers were elected: former State Senator J. David Baile, president; Charles W. Melville, Arthur G. Tracey and Mrs. Harry M. Kimmey, vice-presidents; Mrs. W. Carroll Shunk, treasurer, and Mrs. Charles O. Clemson, secretary. The society was incorporated and the Shellman House at 206 East Main Street, Westminster, perhaps the oldest dwelling in the town, was purchased for its headquarters. Sufficient funds have been collected to pay two-thirds of its costs and also for some improvements. More than three hundred members have been enrolled, in addition to a number of life members.

Many gifts have been made to the Society of interesting articles pertaining to the history of the county. Included is the original parchment plat made of the Andrew Hoover tract of land, which from 1740 to 1760 was the home of the Hoover family in what is now Carroll County. Former president Herbert Hoover, a direct descendant of Andrew Hoover, autographed this plat at the request of Charles O. Clemson, attorney at law, a member of the society, who several years ago traced the title to this land and established the location of the tract that the Hoovers owned in Maryland.

The annual meeting of the Society was held on the second Thursday of November, 1939, and the following were elected as directors: For Taneytown District, Walter A. Bower; Uniontown, Burrier Cookson; Myers, Miss Madeline Shriver; Woolery's, Hon. H. Hamilton Hackney; Freedom, Thomas H. Melville; Manchester, Miss Sadie Masenheimer; Westminster, Mrs. Paul M. Wimert and J. David Baile; Hampstead, Mrs. Homer L. Twigg; Franklin, C. Ray Barnes; Middleburg, George S. La Forge; New Windsor, Mrs. Donald Shriver; Union Bridge, Dr. Thomas H. Legg; Berrett, Erman A. Shoemaker; Mount Airy, Mrs. J. Stanley Grabill. The same officers were re-elected.

The following are chairmen of committees: Publicity: Mrs. Paul M. Wimert; Program: Miss Elizabeth Billingslea; Finance: Mrs. W. Carroll Shunk; History: Mrs. M. John Lynch; Membership: Miss Lillian Shipley and Mrs. Harry M. Kimmey; Museum: Norman B. Boyle; House, Mrs. Donald Shriver; Holiday Mart: Mrs. Joseph L. Mathias, Sr.

Historical Society of Cecil County—The Historical Society of Cecil County, incorporated by Act of the Legislature in 1931, held its annual meeting and luncheon in Elkton on January 15, 1940. Governor O'Connor and J. Alexis Shriver made addresses. The following officers were reelected: President, Joshua Clayton; Vice-President, Joseph Coudon of J.; Secretary, G. Reynolds Ash; Treasurer, Murray J. Ewing. Since the date named both Mr. Clayton and Mr. Coudon have died. The Society has 40 members.

Thanks for Valuable Assistance—Many members of the Society will recall, no doubt, that several years ago we were fortunate enough to secure the interesting collection of genealogical material which had belonged to the late Mrs. Letitia Pinnell Wilson. As Mrs. Wilson had not been able to complete the arrangement of the collection before her death, Mrs. Thomas S. George offered to do so. After devoting much time and attention to this

task, Mrs. George has just completed classifying and indexing the Wilson Collection which makes it available to genealogists.

The Society wishes to thank Mrs. George for her painstaking care and trouble in arranging the collection.

John C. Daves—Mr. John Collins Daves, twelfth President General of the Society of the Cincinnati, died at Sherbrooke, Province of Quebec, Canada, on November 2, 1939. He had occupied this office, first held by General Washington, since May 1932, but before that he had for nearly half a century held office in the Society of the Cincinnati. Mr. Daves had long been a member of the Maryland Historical Society.

He was born in Bonn, Prussia, on August 21, 1861. His father, Dr. Edward Graham Daves, Professor of Greek and Latin at Trinity College, Hartford, was pursuing graduate studies at the University of Bonn. The hereditary membership in the Society of the Cincinnati, held by the eldest son in each generation of the Daves family, was derived from their descent from Captain John Daves of the Third North-Carolina Continental Regiment during the Revolution, one of the original members of the Order.

Young John Collins Daves spent the first ten years of his life in Europe, and became a pupil at the private school of Dr. Atkinson in Baltimore, where his parents took up their residence in 1871. He entered Princeton in 1880, graduating as Bachelor of Arts in 1884. From that year to 1893 he was engaged in engineering work in New Orleans, Memphis and Tallahassee, Florida. In the latter year he returned to Baltimore and was first connected with the American District Telegraph Company, later entering the City Commissioner's Office. He was a trustee of the Sheppard-Pratt Hospital and engaged in other charitable works. For some years prior to his death he had been retired, spending his winters at his home at 135 West Lanvale Street, Baltimore, and his summers at his cottage at North Hatley, Quebec.

Mississippi Valley Press—The Mississippi Valley Press has recently been organized to publish volumes pertaining to cultural and political history. It is especially interested in giving scholars an opportunity to make significant contributions to Americana. Publication of *William Salter, Western Torchbearer*, by Philip D. Jordan; *Thomas Riley Marshall, Hoosier Statesman*, by Charles T. Thomas, the first volumes in the Men of America Series, has been announced.

Howard; Ashcom—Ancestry desired of John P. Howard, b. 1790 in Baltimore: married Louisa M. Stamman (Stemmers Run). Alexander Ashcom, b. 1787 in St. Mary's county: married Permelia Lynch of the same county. Will be glad to exchange information with persons interested in these families.

V. Howard Hackney,
Box 591, Marshall, Texas.

Linn—Does the name of Nicholas Linn appear on the muster rolls in Pennsylvania or Maryland archives as serving in the Revolutionary War?

John T. Miller,
Taneytown, Md.

Jennings—I am seeking information regarding the *names* of the children of Edmund Jennings of Yorkshire, England and Maryland. This man was the son of Edmund Jennings, one time Secretary of the Province of Maryland (1732-1755), and was the grandson of Edmund Jennings who was Attorney-General and acting Governor of Virginia (1680-1710). Some reports have it that he died childless but in a letter written in 1769 to Richard Henry Lee he mentions at least three children though not by name. (Ref.: *Virginia Historical Magazine*, vol. 3, pp. 199-200, 1895-1896).

L. Sherman Jennings, M. D.,
2967 Avalon Ave., Berkeley, Calif.

Prather—Aaron Prather, b. 1797, d. 1882, in Indiana, came from Maryland. He married Elizabeth Patrick, b. 1803. Can any one furnish me with information about Aaron's parents?

Simmons—Daniel Simmons, b. 1787 Hagerstown, Md., d. 1874, m. Elizabeth Mull Barnhouse (2) b. 1798. Daniel Simmons was the son of Jacob Simmons and Catherine —, his wife. Migrated to Carroll, Harrison and Jefferson counties, Ohio. Four of their sons were in the War of 1812—Adam, Jacob, Peter and Daniel. Would like information on Jacob Simmons.

Mrs. Horace Cary,
Kearney, Nebraska.

Wheeler; Hanson, etc.—Harry Wright Newman in his book on Lucketts says Judge Wm. Lockett (one of "Immortal Twelve" of Frederick county) m. Charity Middleton, daughter of John and Mary (Wheeler) Middleton. It is known Capt. John Middleton's mother was Mary Wheeler (of Maj. John Wheeler and his wife Mary —?) Was John Middleton's wife also a Mary Wheeler?

Semmes says Clement Gardiner m. Eleanor Middleton (about 1730). Others say she was Eleanor Brooke. Which is right? Governor Thomas was a descendant.

Genealogists often say John Hanson 1st m. Mary, daughter of Col. Thos. Hussey. Yet we know John's son, John Hanson, Jr., m. Elizabeth, daughter of Col. Thos. Hussey. Who was Mary, wife of John Hanson 1st?

Hugh C. Middleton,
314 East Capitol St., Washington, D. C.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

December 11, 1939. At the regular meeting of the Society a list of the donations was read. The following persons were elected to membership:

Active

Mr. Tolley A. Biays	Mr. Douglas H. Rose, 2d
Mrs. William H. Johnson	Dr. Winford H. Smith
Hon. William Preston Lane, Jr.	Miss May King
Mrs. Richard Ridell	

Associate

Mr. Joseph W. Waller

The death of Miss Lillie Detrick, on November 14, 1939, was reported.

Dr. John H. Gardner, Jr., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, read an interesting paper on "Presbyterians of Old Baltimore." A rising vote of thanks was given Dr. Gardner.

January 15, 1940. The regular meeting of the Society was held this evening, at 8:15 o'clock, with President Radcliffe in the chair. The librarian read a list of recent donations.

The following persons, having been previously nominated, were elected to membership:

Active

Mr. John P. Cooper	Mrs. Mary Ellis Turner
Mr. Robert T. Perkins	Dr. Henry M. Thomas
Mr. & Mrs. William Woodward Cloud	Miss Rebecca Myers
Mrs. John L. Dorsey	

Associate

Mrs. Arthur L. Butner

The deaths of these members were reported:

Edward Lloyd Winder, September 8, 1939

Edward P. Keech, Jr., November 16, 1939

Very Rev. Monsignor Joseph A. Cunnane, December 13, 1939.

Dr. Henry Barton Jacobs, December 18, 1939

Mr. Radcliffe stated that before having the report of the Nominating Committee he wished to refer to the services of those officers who were retiring from office. The President spoke first of Mr. James E. Hancock, who for a number of years had acted as Recording Secretary. Mr. Hancock's resignation was deeply to be regretted, he said, since he has always given much of his time and attention to promoting the interests of the Society. Mr. Radcliffe then referred to Mrs. Robert F. Brent, the retiring Chairman of the Committee on Membership. While Mrs. Brent held this office she had been untiring in her efforts to secure new members and as a result many had become members of the Society. Mr. Radcliffe then mentioned the services of Dr. Douglas H. Gordon, who had resigned as Chairman of the Commit-

tee on Addresses. As Mr. Gordon had arranged many interesting lectures before the Society, the loss of his services was much regretted. The President said that to all three officers, the Society was greatly indebted for their useful services.

The Nominating Committee made its report and placed in nomination those selected as officers and committee members for 1940.

Mr. Douglas Gordon introduced Mr. Hulbert Footner, whose subject was "Charles' Gift," the house built in 1650 by Richard Preston, at Lusby, Calvert County. The Society expressed to Mr. Footner appreciation for his most interesting talk.

February 12, 1940. The regular meeting of the Society was held with President Radcliffe in the chair.

The following persons were elected to membership:

Life Member

Miss Elizabeth T. Sudler

Active

Miss Katharine M. Christhlf

Mrs. Wilbur W. Hubbard

Mr. George W. Constable

Mr. Bryden Bordley Hyde

Dr. Clarence S. Gore

Mr. J. Hambleton Ober

Mr. Adrian H. Onderdonk

Associate

Mr. Bart Anderson

Mrs. Anne Middleton Holmes

Mrs. Edward Olmsted

The following deaths were reported:

Mrs. Frederick J. Cotton, January 27, 1940

Mr. Harry B. Green, January 19, 1940

Mr. Richard Hardesty Thompson, February 8, 1940

Mr. Raphael Semmes gave a very interesting talk entitled: "Maryland in Ye Olden Days."

ANNUAL MEETING

At the Annual Meeting which followed the President asked Mr. Philip S. Morgan to take the chair while the election of the officers and members of the various committees was held. Mr. Morgan stated that there was no contest for any of the offices and instructed the Secretary to cast the ballot. The following were elected:

For President

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE

For Vice-Presidents

J. HALL PLEASANTS

LAURENCE HALL FOWLER

SAMUEL K. DENNIS

For Corresponding Secretary

WILLIAM B. MARYE

For Recording Secretary

W. HALL HARRIS, JR.

For Treasurer

HEYWARD E. BOYCE

For Trustees of the Athenaeum

G. CORNER FENHAGEN, *Chairman*

SUMMERFIELD BALDWIN, JR.

HENRY DUFFY

THOMAS F. CADWALADER

C. MORGAN MARSHALL

CHARLES MCHENRY HOWARD

For Committee on the Gallery

JOHN HENRY SCARFF, *Chairman*

JAMES R. HERBERT BOONE

LAWRASON RIGGS

R. MCGILL MACKALL

GILMAN PAUL

For Committee on the Library

LOUIS H. DIELMAN, *Chairman*

HENRY J. BERKLEY

EDWARD B. MATHEWS

JOHN W. GARRETT

A. MORRIS TYSON

GEORGE HARRISON

CHARLES C. WALLACE

For Committee on Finance

WILLIAM INGLE, *Chairman*

WILLIAM G. BAKER, JR.

CHARLES E. RIEMAN

For Committee on Publications

W. STULL HOLT, *Chairman*

J. HALL PLEASANTS

RAPHAEL SEMMES

For Committee on Membership

MACGILL JAMES, *Chairman*

MRS. FRANCES F. BEIRNE

FERDINAND C. LATROBE

GEORGE W. CONSTABLE

JOHN P. PACA, JR.

ROGER BROOKE HOPKINS, JR.

MARSHALL WINCHESTER

For Committee on Addresses and Literary Entertainment

B. HOWELL GRISWOLD, JR., *Chairman*

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD

HENRY E. TREIDE

Mr. Radcliffe said: "I submit herewith reports referring to developments during the year. 1939 has been on the whole a very satisfactory year for the Society. We have received books and other materials of historical value. Likewise contributions to our endowment fund have been made. These reasons show the healthy condition of the Society.

"One of the most important advances which the Society has made in many years has been the fact that we have been able to secure the services of Mr. Raphael Semmes as librarian. He is a well-known writer and student of Maryland History, and his services will be invaluable to us."

REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE ATHENAEUM

I beg to submit herewith report of the Trustees of the Athenaeum for the calendar year 1939.

The Budget allowance for the year was \$2,000.00, and we have actually expended during the year for the items listed below a total of \$1,798.00 exclusive of special work done in the Gallery and Library.

The skylights over the Gallery and Library have been a constant source of expense for maintenance, and almost useless as a source of natural light for

those rooms. On the recommendation of the Trustees it was decided to do away with them, and the Council voted a special fund for removing them and roofing over the spaces they had occupied with permanent roofs, and suspended plaster ceilings. This work was carried out by the Trustees, and at the same time the artificial lighting of these rooms was remodelled and improved.

The following is a detailed statement of expenditures during 1939:

Budget allowance..... \$2,000.00

Expenditures:

American District Telegraph.....	\$ 427.20
Electric Light.....	320.20
Supplies	129.51
Repairs	176.90
Fuel	548.75
Water Rent.....	30.00
Insurance	165.50

\$1,798.06

Expenses not charged to Budget but approved by the Council:

New roof on Gallery and Library \$2,888.26

New lights in Gallery and Library 535.68

3,423.94

\$5,222.00

G. CORNER FENHAGEN, *Chairman*.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE GALLERY

During the year 1939 the Society cooperated with the Baltimore Museum of Art by lending several pieces of china from the Bonaparte Collection for an exhibition held at the Museum.

"Baltimore Yesterdays," an exhibition at the Municipal Museum, has a great number of prints, photographs, ship models, and paintings exhibited which are the property of the Society.

Miss Sally Randolph Carter bequeathed to the Society, as a memorial to Marie Worthington Conrad Lehr, a number of very handsome pieces of furniture including a sideboard, game table, chest of drawers, secretary, a small piano, grandfather's clock, silver service, china and glass, a portrait of Marie Worthington Conrad Lehr, a sofa and four chairs. In addition to the furniture Miss Carter left \$1,000.00 to prepare a suitable room to exhibit these articles. This room will be finished about the middle of February.

Miss Ellen Howard Bayard willed to the Society a bust of Richard Henry Bayard, mahogany and maple writing desk, grandfather clock, two gilt cornices from Belvidere, two small framed pictures of Richard Howard Bayard, Bayard coat-of-arms, and several small miscellaneous objects.

Miss Edith Sterret Neff presented a painting by Thomas Ruckle of the "Battle of North Point" which is a most interesting addition to the gallery; in addition to two framed prints, one in color and one in black and white, made from the painting.

Senator Radcliffe presented a collection of pictures of political men of Baltimore.

Mr. Charles McHenry Howard purchased for the Society, at a cost of \$100, the William Moss Boucher Collection of Indian relics. These objects will be permanently housed and exhibited at the Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

The W. P. A. room has been put in order and the pictures rearranged. The usual miscellaneous donations of pictures and small items were received. The undersigned assumed the duties of chairman of the Gallery Committee September 1, 1939.

JOHN HENRY SCARFF, *Chairman*.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE

Your Committee reports that owing to the financial condition of the Society no funds for the purchase of books and manuscripts were available and that for the past year there has been a marked falling off in the number and quality of gifts. For several years past our only source of supplies was from the generous gift of one of our members; and although this fund was used with great and almost niggardly care, it cannot be stretched out indefinitely and is now entirely exhausted. Unless other members come forward with further gifts of money it is inevitable that practically all work of conservation and repair must be abandoned until such time as the long hoped for endowment fund is secured.

The additions to the permanent collection made during the year consisted of 129 volumes, 50 pamphlets, 237 manuscripts, 10 photo-stats, 2 maps, 12 volumes and 20 individual newspapers, 4 broadsides, 2 scrap books and 199 pieces of sheet music.

From funds provided by the National Society of Founders and Patriots who have so liberally contributed in the past, the remaining volumes of Otho Holland Williams papers are being assembled, mounted and bound, to complete the set.

The most important event of the year, however, was the appointment of Raphael Semmes, esq., to the Librarianship of the Society, a position which he accepted at great financial sacrifice, and to which he brings not only scholarship and industry, but a personality that is worth even more than other qualifications. It should be remembered, however, that even Mr. Semmes "cannot make bricks without straw" and will need the whole-hearted support of the Society. Material results from Mr. Semmes' activities are already in evidence. A partial list of the donors follows:

Miss Jane James Cook, George C. Keidel, James R. Orndorff, Mrs. A. C. Harrison, Mrs. Robert M. Torrence, Roger Brooke Hopkins, Jr., John B. Riggs, National Society Daughters of American Revolution, National Society Daughters of Founders and Patriots, Miss Elizabeth Greenway, Henry Ridgely Evans, Mrs. M. Courtney Jenkins, Col. Harrison Tilghman, Mrs. Mark Sullivan, Harrold E. Gillingham, Lockwood Barr, Oscar Kemp Tolley, and Mrs. Isabel Breckenridge Hendry.

LOUIS H. DIELMAN, *Chairman*.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

GENERAL ACCOUNT

Balance on hand January 1, 1939..... \$ 1,332.24

RECEIPTS

Dues from members.....	\$5,365.00
Permanent Endowment Fund (Bequest Sally R. Carter).....	1,000.00
Income Peabody Fund.....	865.00
Income other than Peabody Fund.....	2,671.06
Income Athenaeum Fund.....	3,354.00
Income Audubon Fund.....	210.00
Investigation and Searches.....	17.20
Confederate Relics.....	50.00
Publication Committee.....	383.51
Library Committee.....	354.40
Magazine Account.....	26.45
Special Fund.....	1,410.00
General Account.....	179.47

Securities:

\$1,000 Lexington Rwy. Co. 5% 1949 called @ 110.....	1,100.00
2,000 City of Cambridge 4½% due 1939.....	2,000.00
5,000 Commercial Credit Co. 2¾% Deb. called @ 101..	5,050.00
33% Distribution on 2,000 Mtge. Sec. Corp. Series "B"	
Liquidation	660.00

24,696.09

Total Receipts..... \$26,028.33

EXPENDITURES

General Account:

Salaries	\$5,732.31
Trustees	1,798.06
Office	200.02
Treasurer	146.07
Special Fund.....	435.47
* Extra Bldg. Repairs.....	3,423.94
General	681.03

\$12,416.90

Magazine Account.....	1,880.21
Library Committee.....	1,770.20
Publication Committee.....	599.99
Gallery and Painting.....	22.75
Securities Purchased.....	8,170.53

24,860.58

Balance on hand December 30, 1939..... \$1,167.75

STATE OF MARYLAND—ARCHIVES ACCOUNT

Balance on hand January 1, 1939..... \$5,904.35

RECEIPTS

State of Maryland.....	\$1,523.99
General	188.00

1,711.99

Balance..... \$7,616.34

EXPENDITURES

General Archives..... \$1,523.14

Balance on hand December 30, 1939..... \$6,093.20

* * * *

* To be taken from Special Reserve Emergency Fund, now invested in \$4,000 U. S. Treasury 3½'s.

State of Maryland Appropriation for 1939.....	\$4,175.00	
Paid to Society.....		1,523.99
Paid by State direct to Lord Baltimore Press.....		2,651.01
	<u>\$4,175.00</u>	<u>\$4,175.00</u>

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDITS

Uninvested Funds January 1, 1939.....		\$ 65.05
Bequest "Sally R. Carter".....	\$1,000.00	
\$1,000 Lexington Rwy. Co. 5% 1949 called @ 110.....	1,100.00	
2,000 City of Cambridge 4½% due 1939.....	2,000.00	
5,000 Commercial Credit Co. 2¾% Deb. called @ 101.....	5,050.00	
33% Distribution on \$2,000 Mtge. Sec. Corp. "B" Liquidation	660.00	
	<u></u>	<u>9,810.00</u>

DEBITS

Securities Purchased:		\$9,875.05
\$3,000 Houston Oil Co. 15 Yr. 4¼% Deb. due 1954....	\$3,013.46	
5,000 U. S. Treasury 2½% due 1948.....	5,157.07	
	<u></u>	<u>8,170.53</u>
Uninvested Balance December 30, 1939.....		\$1,704.52

HEYWARD E. BOYCE, *Treasurer.*

REPORT OF THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

During the year Volume LV of the *Archives of Maryland* appeared. Like its predecessors it was edited by Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, who also wrote the Introduction. It contains the Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1757-1758, and is the twenty-fifth volume of the sub-series recording Assembly affairs.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* was published regularly under the editorship of Mr. James W. Foster. Returning to a practice followed many years ago, advertisements, suitable in character for such a journal, have been accepted. The revenue obtained has been used for improvements in the *Magazine*, especially for illustrations. During the year a new format was adopted, the contents of the *Magazine* increased by over fifteen per cent. and the index of the volume was inserted in the last number. All of these changes, together with the effort to secure the best articles anywhere available have, we hope and believe, increased the attractiveness and value of the *Magazine*.

The following is a statement of the cost of publishing the *Magazine* during the year:

Budget allowance.....	\$2,000.00
Credits (Magazine sales and ads).....	403.11
General account.....	77.09
	<u>\$2,480.20</u>
Printing (four issues).....	\$1,880.21
Postage (distribution four issues).....	99.79
Editor	200.00
Miscellaneous	300.20
	<u>\$2,480.20</u>

W. STULL HOLT, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

January 1, 1939:

Life members.....	18	
Active members.....	1001	
Associate members.....	144	
	<hr/>	1163

New members 1939:

Active members.....	78	
Associate members.....	21	
	<hr/>	99
		<hr/>
		1262

Members lost during 1939:

Died	25	
Resigned	14	
Dropped	6	
	<hr/>	45
		<hr/>
		1217

December 31, 1939:

Life members.....	18	
Associate members.....	159	
Active members.....	1040	
	<hr/>	1217

Net increase for 1939, 54 new members.

MRS. ROBERT F. BRENT, *Chairman*.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ADDRESSES

I have the honor to report the activities of the Lecture Committee during the past calendar year:

January 16—"George IV and Public Opinion with Observations on Royal Marriages in the 18th and 19th Centuries," by Dr. Nathan C. Starr, of Williamstown, Massachusetts.

February 13—"Roger Brooke Taney and the Tenets of Democracy," by Carl Swisher, of the Johns Hopkins University.

April 10—"New Munster and the Part Played by Ulster Scots in the Penn-Calvert Border Conflict," by Mr. C. Ross McKenrick.

May 8—"The Jews in Early Maryland," by Mr. B. H. Hartogensis.

October 9—United States Senator Prentiss M. Brown, of Michigan, discussed certain contrasts between the settlement and development of a midwestern state and some of the thirteen colonies.

November 13—"Adventures in Maryland Biography," by Judge Edward S. Delaplaine, of the Court of Appeals of Maryland.

December 11—"The Presbyterians of Old Baltimore," by Dr. John H. Gardner, Jr., Pastor of First Presbyterian Church.

I take the liberty of suggesting once more that greater interest would be manifested in the Society's lectures if they were not preceded by such a lengthy order of business. A quick demonstration of what I believe to be a general lack of interest in them could be had by giving two or three lectures on days separate from the days on which the other business of the Society is transacted. If this were done, I believe you would find the attendance at the business meetings would be virtually nil.

DOUGLAS H. GORDON, *Chairman*.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

HONORARY MEMBERS

Ames, Joseph S. (1937).....	Charlote Place, Guilford, Baltimore
Andrews, Charles McLean, Ph.D. (1938) ..	Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Eden, Captain Anthony.....	17 Fitzhardinge St., W. I., London, Eng.
Marsden, R. G. (1902).....	13 Leinster Gardens, London, Eng.

LIFE MEMBERS

Brevitt, Mrs. Katherine Mackenzie } (1935)	Hotel Altamont, Baltimore
Cain, Mrs. Mary Clough (1922).....	Church Hill, Md.
Calvert, Charles Exley (1911).....	34 Huntley St., Toronto, Canada
Davis, George Harvey (1927).....	14 E. Biddle St.
Dick, Mrs. Frank M. (1933).....	Cambridge, Md.
Gaither, Miss Ida Belle (1935).....	Elizabethtown, N. Y.
Howard, Miss Elizabeth Gray (1916) ..	901 St. Paul St.
Jeanes, Mrs. Joseph Y. (1931).....	Villa Nova, Pa.
Littlejohn, Mrs. Robert M. (1916).....	2 E. 88th St., N. Y. C.
Loyola College Librarian.....	{ Loyola College, Charles St. Ave., and Cold Spring Lane
Marburg, Miss Emma (1917).....	6 E. Eager St., Baltimore
Morris, Lawrence J. (1927).....	240 S. 4th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Redwood, Mrs. Mary B. (1907).....	Preston Apts.
Shirk, Mrs. Ida M. (1913).....	{ Care of R. C. Faust, Central Union Trust Bldg., 42nd St. & Madison Ave., N. Y. C.
Short, Capt. John Saulsbury (1919).....	38 E. 25th Street
Shriver, J. Alexis (1931).....	Bel Air, Md.
Sudler, Miss Elizabeth T. (1940).....	Salisbury, Md.
Williams, Miss Nellie C. (1917).....	50 Riverside Drive, N. Y. C.
Woodward, William (1935).....	One Wall Street, N. Y. C.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

Bell, Herbert C. (1899).....	R. D. Route, No. 4, Springfield, O.
Black, J. William, Ph. D. (1898).....	Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.
Brooks, William Gray (1895).....	257 S. 21st St., Phila., Pa.
Brown, Henry John (1908).....	4 Trafalgar Sq., London, W. C., Eng.
Cockey, Marston Rogers (1897).....	117 Liberty St., N. Y. C.
Ford, Worthington C. (1890).....	1154 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.
Hall, Hubert (1904).....	Public Record Office, London
Hersh, Grier (1897).....	York, Pa.
Stevenson, John J. (1890).....	215 West End Ave., New York
Wood, Henry C. (1902).....	Harrodsburg, Ky.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

Adams, Harrington (1934).....	Bethlehem Trust Bldg., Bethlehem, Pa.
Anderson, Bart (1940).....	100 High St., West Chester, Pa.
Andrews, Charles Lee (1911).....	42 Broadway, New York
Auld, Miss Lula Gray (1935).....	Danville, Va.
Baird-Bennett, O. Josephine, M. D. } (1931)	La Salle Apts., Washington, D. C.
Baker, Mrs. Allan L. (1938).....	348 E. Foster Ave., State College, Penna.
Baker, Mrs. C. H. (1927).....	1080 Arden Rd., Pasadena, Cal.
Ball, David Haines (1935).....	327 E. Sydney Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
Bell, Alexander H. (1916).....	3400 Garfield St., Washington, D. C.

- *Bell, Mrs. Louis V. }
 (Annie Megrue) (1930)..... } 205 West 89th St., N. Y. C.
- Bloom, Mrs. Sarah F. (1929)..... } Vienna, RFD, Va.
 Bouvier, Mrs. Henrietta J. (1919)..... } 580 Park Ave., N. Y. C.
 Britton, Mrs. Winchester (1932)..... } Cranford, N. J.
 Brown, Alexander C. (1939)..... } Mariner's Museum, Newport News, Va.
 Bulkley, Mrs. Caroline (Kemper) }
 (1926) } 1044 Rutherford Ave., Shreveport, La.
- Bullitt, William Marshall (1914)..... }
 } 1711 Kentucky Home Life Bldg., Louis-
 } ville, Ky.
 Bullock, William A. (1939)..... } 99 John St., New York City.
 Burns, Mrs. Annie Walker (1938)..... } R1, Box 119, Benning Sta., Wash., D. C.
 Byrne, Mrs. James }
 (Olivia McGregor) (1939)..... } 1088 Park Ave., New York City.
- Carpenter, Mrs. Walter S. (1936)..... } Wilmington, Del.
 Cecil, Arthur Bond, M. D. (1933).... }
 } 1016 Pacific Mutual Bldg.,
 } Los Angeles, Calif.
- Chaney, Mrs. Herbert M. (1936)..... } 2115 F St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
 Chew, Major Fielder Bowie (1934)..... } 1910 Biltmore St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
 Clark, Allen C. (1926)..... } Equitable Bldg., Washington, D. C.
 Cooch, Mrs. Edward W. (1936)..... } Cooch's Bridge, Newark, Delaware
 Cox, Thomas Riggs (1938)..... } Southport, Connecticut.
 Curry, Miss Kate S. (1930)..... } 1420 Gerard St., Washington, D. C.
 Davidge, Walter Dorsey (1936)..... } 1826 Eye St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
 Dean, Joseph William (1934)..... } Kulpmont, Penna.
- Deford, B. Frank (1914)..... }
 Deford, Mrs. B. Frank (1916)..... } 608 W. Franklin St., Richmond, Va.
- Dent, Louis Addison (1905)..... } 3300 16th St., Washington, D. C.
 Dent, Magruder (1937)..... } Old Church Rd., Greenwich, Conn.
 Devereux, Walter Evans (1938)..... } P. O. Box 53, Niagara Sta., Buffalo, N. Y.
 Dolan, John J. (1934)..... } 1323 30th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
 Donaldson, John W. (1927)..... } Millbrook, N. Y.
- Dorsey, Vernon M. (1921)..... } 1346 F St., Washington, D. C.
 Edholm, Mrs. Arthur (1938)..... } Gordonsville, Va.
 Eliason, Mrs. James T. (1930)..... } New Castle, Delaware
 Evans, Henry Ridgely (1935)..... } 3300 16th St., Washington, D. C.
 Fisher, Miss Elizabeth J. (1932)..... } All States Hotel, Washington, D. C.
 Foster, Frederick (1921)..... } 84 State St., Boston, Mass.
 Franklin, Robert S. (1931)..... } Charleston, W. Va.
- Frazier, Mrs. John (1936)..... }
 } 8015 Navajo St., Chestnut Hill,
 } Philadelphia, Pa.
- French, Mrs. W. E. Pattison }
 (Evelyn Eva Sutton Weems) (1930) } 3017 N St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
- Gardner, Frank Williams (1934)..... } 1192 Cleveland Ave., Columbus, O.
 Gardner, Mrs. Philip (1934)..... } 74 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass.
- Gifford, W. L. R. (1906)..... }
 } St. Louis Mercantile Library
 } Association, Missouri
- Glenn, John M. (1905)..... } 1 Lexington Ave., N. Y. C.
 Goodrich, Thomas M. (1933)..... } Hotel Wellington, Albany, N. Y.
 Goodridge, Mr. Edwin T. (1936)..... } 111 Broadway, N. Y. C.
 Gordon, Mrs. Burgess Lee (1916)..... } 1921 E. Gales St., Seattle, Wash.
- Gordon, Mrs. James Riely (Mary }
 Lamar Sprigg) (1934)..... } 159 Corliss Ave., Pelham Heights, N. Y.
- Gould, Lyttleton B. P. (1936)..... } Ring's End Rd., Noroton, Conn.
 Griffiss, Miss Penelope (1936)..... } Hotel Palton, Chattanooga, Tenn.
- Griffith, Major Charles T., U. S. A. }
 Ret. (1934) } 6733 Emlen St., Germantown, Pa.
- Gronemeyer, Mrs. Henry H. (1936)..... } Wawaset Park, Wilmington, Delaware
 Groome, H. C. (1926)..... } Airlie, nr. Warrenton, Va.
- Grove, Mrs. J. R. }
 (Katharine N.) (1934)..... } 1921 19th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Guiday, Rev. Peter, Ph. D. (1915).....	Catholic University, Washington, D. C.
Hager, Frank L. (1921).....	204 Spring St., Fayette, Mo.
Halsey, Mrs. Van Rensselaer (1938)....	"Briarwood," Rumson, N. J.
Hamilton, Hon. George E. (1924).....	Union Trust Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Hannay, Wm. M. (1936).....	207 Eye St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Hanson, Murray (1936).....	1010 Vermont Ave., Washington, D. C.
Hargett, Arthur V., M. D. (1926).....	103 Park Ave., N. Y. C.
Hastings, Mrs. Russel (1925).....	230 E. 50th Street, N. Y. C.
Headman, Mrs. Mary Hoss (1934).....	1000 Davenport Rd., Knoxville, Tenn.
Heaton, Mrs. Louise (1939).....	P. O. Box 86, Clarksdale, Miss.
Henderson, Daniel MacIntyre (1939)....	100 W. 55th St., N. Y. C.
Heyn, Mrs. Walter (Minnie Watkins) (1929).....	8 Holland Terr., Montclair, N. J.
Hill, John Sprunt (1936).....	900 Duke St., Durham, N. C.
Hillyer, Mrs. Geo. Jr. (1927).....	168 The Prado, Atlanta, Ga.
Himes, Joseph H. (1935).....	1705 K St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Hodgdon, A. Dana (1933).....	American Consulate General, Berlin, Germany
Hoffman, Wilmer (1929).....	14 Rue Compagne Premiere, Paris, France
Holmes, Mrs. Anne Middleton (1940)....	Norfolk, Connecticut.
Hook, James W. (1924).....	Blake & Vallery Sts, New Haven, Conn.
Hooker, Roland M. (1933).....	186 N. Beacon St., Hartford, Conn.
Hopkins, Samuel Gover (1911).....	6th & Walnut Sts., Phila., Pa.
Horner, Mrs. Harris H. (1936).....	6249 S. Throop St., Chicago, Illinois
Hough, H. C. Tilghman (1925).....	180 E. 79th St., N. Y. C.
Howard, John Paul (1938).....	217 Santa Clare Ave., Dayton, Ohio
Hynson, Richard Washburn (1934).....	3435 34th Place, Washington, D. C.
Jennings, Mrs. Frank E. (1936).....	2505 Oak St., Jacksonville, Florida
Johnson, Mrs. O. M. (1938).....	416 Maple Ave., Waynesboro, Va.
Jones, Mrs. T. Catesby (1929).....	53 E. 92nd St., New York City
Jones, Robert C. (1934).....	Shoreham Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Keene, Lt. Col. Marcel S. (1935).....	1 East 60th St., N. Y. C.
Keidel, Geo. C., Ph. D. (1912).....	414 Seward Square, N. E., Wash., D. C.
Keith, A. L. (1924).....	Lock Box W., Vermillion, S. Dakota
Kelley, J. Thomas, M. D. (1934).....	1312 15th St., N. W., Wash., D. C.
Key, Sewall (1929).....	University Club, Washington, D. C.
Kimble, Miss Pearl B. (1921).....	P. O. Box 36, Tulsa, Oklahoma
Kraus, Walter M., M. D. (1938).....	2400 16th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Kremer, J. Bruce (1939).....	Tower Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Kuhn, Miss Florence Calvert (1921)....	Marmet, W. Va.
Layton, Mrs. Mary Turpin (1929).....	3925 7th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Leach, Miss M. Atherton (1907).....	2118 Spruce St., Phila., Pa.
Lehr, Mrs. Louis (1926).....	Savoy-Plaza Hotel, N. Y. C.
Lewis, Clifford, 3rd (1934).....	240 S. 4th St., Phila., Pa.
Libby, George F., M. D. (1933)....	913 25th St., San Diego, California
Libby, Mrs. George F. (1919) (Augusta Maitland Carter).....	
Livringhouse, F. A. (1938).....	1648 Euclid Ave., Lincoln, Neb.
Lowe, W. Eldridge (1936).....	45 Grove St., Boston, Mass.
Lyden, Frederick F. (1925).....	42 Broadway, N. Y. C.
McAdams, Rev. Edward P. (1906).....	313 2nd St., S. E., Washington, D. C.
Magee, D. Frank (1938).....	York, Penna.
Maire, Mrs. Gertrude Howard (1936)...	Pennsboro, West Virginia
Manges, Mrs. Willis F. (Marie Elsie Bosley) (1934)....	Moylan, Pa.
Martin, Mrs. Edwin S. (1905).....	New Straitsville, Ohio
Massey, George V., 2nd (1937).....	55 King St., Dover, Del.
Metten, J. F. (1936).....	N. Y. Shipbldg. Corp., Camden, N. J.
Middleton, Arthur Pierce (1939).....	1150 5th Ave., New York City
Miller, William Alexander (1932).....	911 Monroe St., N. W., Wash., D. C.
Mills, Mrs. Ballinger (1934).....	2908 Ave. O., Galveston, Texas
Mish, Mrs. W. F., Jr. (1936).....	Falling Waters, West Virginia

Virkus, Fred. Adams (1930).....	440 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois
Waggaman, Thomas E. (1939).....	Box 1914, Supreme Court Bldg., Wash., D. C.
Waller, Joseph W. (1939).....	Laurel, Del.
Wallis, Leonard G. (1931).....	1812 Ontario Pl., Washington, D. C.
Wallis, Mrs. Thomas Smythe (1923)....	1906 Randolph St., Arlington, Virginia
Waters, Campbell Easter (1934).....	5812 Chevy Chase Pkwy., Wash., D. C.
Watson, Mrs. Alexander Mackenzie } (1920)	Harrods Creek, Kentucky
Watts, Mrs. James T. (1938).....	514 19th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Welbon, Rev. Henry G. (1938).....	119 Delaware Ave., Newark, N. J.
White, Mrs. Harry (1935).....	701 Cathedral St., Baltimore, Md.
White, John Campbell (1931).....	State Depart., Washington, D. C.
Wilson, Samuel M. (1907).....	Trust Co. Building, Lexington, Ky.
Winchester, James Price (1935).....	Wilmington, Delaware
Wright, Mrs. J. Pilling (1939).....	Orchard Rd. & Kent Way, Newark, Del.
Young, H. J. (1935).....	{ Librarian, York County Historical Society, York, Penna.
Young, Mrs. Norville Finley (1937)....	1968 Denune Ave., Columbus, Ohio

ACTIVE MEMBERS.

Where no P. O. Address is given, Baltimore is understood.

Abell, W. W. (1937).....	424 Equitable Bldg.
Abercrombie, Dr. Ronald T. (1916)....	10 Whitfield Rd.
Abercrombie, Mrs. Ronald T. (1937)...	10 Whitfield Rd.
Abrams, Michael A., M. D. (1936).....	2360 Eutaw Place
Addison, Joseph (1934).....	806 Mercantile Trust Building
Addison, Mrs. T. Gibson } (Otie Seymour Candler) (1923) .. }	P. O. Box 194, Baltimore
Aiken, Miss M. Virginia J. (1934).....	400 Lyman Ave.
Akers, Mrs. Warren M. (1929).....	"The Lilacs," Provincetown, Mass.
Albee, Mrs. George (1921).....	Laurel, Md.
Albert, Mrs. J. Taylor (1928).....	1028 N. Calvert St.
Alexander, Charles Butler (1923).....	Eccleston, Md.
Allen, Hervey (1935).....	"Bonfield," Oxford, Md.
Allen, Mrs. Wendell D. (1940).....	216 Edgevale Rd
Anderson, George M. (1933).....	831 Park Ave.
Anderson, Mr. & Mrs. Nils (1940).....	"Presqu'ile," Easton, Md.
Andrews, Miss Julia G. de V. (1938)....	107 E. Lake Ave.
Andrews, Matthew Page (1911).....	845 Park Ave.
Armstrong, Mrs. Arthur F. (1938).....	2911 Chesley Ave.
Ash, Miss Mollie Howard (1924).....	Elkton, Md.
Atkinson, Miss Grace (1937).....	4201 Somerset Place
Atkinson, Matthew S., Jr. (1925).....	37 South St.
Austin, Walter F. (1934).....	Easton, Md.
Badger, Mrs. A. P. (1927).....	1111 Edmondson Ave.
Baer, Michael S. (1920).....	1001 N. Calvert St.
Baetjer, Charles H. (1936).....	4300 Greenway
Baetjer, Edwin G. (1936).....	16 W. Madison St.
Baetjer, Harry N. (1936).....	1409 Mercantile Trust Bldg.
Baetjer, Howard (1936).....	16 W. Madison St.
Baetjer, Walter A., M. D. (1936).....	16 W. Madison St.
Baker, William G., Jr. (1916).....	Care of Baker Watts & Co.
Baldwin, Francis J. (1939).....	801 N. Charles St.
Baldwin, Mrs. Henry Dupont (Mar-) garet Eyre Taylor) (1937).....	100 W. University Parkway
Baldwin, John Ashby (1935).....	1302 John St.
Baldwin, Miss Rosa E. (1923).....	3951 Cloverhill Road.
Baldwin, Miss Sarah R. (1929).....	101 E. 72d St., N. Y. C.
Baldwin, Robert H. (1939).....	Elkridge, Md.

- Baldwin, Summerfield, Jr. (1928).....117 W. Baltimore St.
 Baldwin, Wm. Woodward (1924).....926 Cathedral St.
 Ballard, Paul G. (1938).....Court Square Bldg.
 Baltimore Association of Commerce }
 (1936) } 22 Light St.
 Banks, Miss Elizabeth (1926).....2119 Bolton St.
 Barker, Mrs. Lewellys F. }
 (Lilian Halsey) (1931)..... } 208 Stratford Rd.
 Barnes, G. Harry (1936).....Homewood Apts.
 Barnes, Walter D. (1928).....3603 Calloway Ave.
 Barrett, Henry C. (1902)....."The Severn"
 Barroll, L. Wethered (1910).....1412 Equitable Bldg.
 Barroll, Morris Keene (1917).....Chestertown, Md.
 Barton, Carlyle (1924).....800 Baltimore Life Bldg.
 Barton, Mrs. Carlyle (Isabel R. T.) }
 (1929) } Dulany Valley Rd., Towson, Md.
 Barton, Randolph, Jr. (1915).....806 Mercantile Trust Bldg.
 Baugh, Mrs. Frederick H. (1922).....207 Woodlawn Rd.
 Baughman, Mrs. L. Victor (1931).....Frederick, Md.
 *Bayard, Miss Ellen Howard (1928)....1208 St. Paul St.
 Baylor, John (1939).....Latrobe Apts.
 Beall, Douglas H. (1939).....Sudbrook Park, Md.
 Bean, Miss Mary Cloud (1930).....226 W. Lanvale St.
 Beatty, Mrs. Philip Asfordby (1910)....Bradenton, Florida
 Beck, Mrs. Harvey G. (1936).....215 Northway
 Beebe Miss Heloise A. (1937).....3957 Cloverhill Rd.
 Beeuwkes, C. John (1924).....1706 First National Bank Bldg.
 Beirne, Mrs. Francis F. (1935).....Ruxton, Md.
 Bell, Mrs. M. Sheppard (1938).....618 York Rd., Towson, Md.
 Bennett, Miss Sarah E. (1930).....2019 Eutaw Place
 Benson, Harry L. (1910).....3106 Evergreen Ave.
 Berkley, Henry J., M. D. (1900).....1735 Park Ave.
 *Berry, Mrs. Edward W. (1931).....19 Elmwood Rd.
 *Bevan, H. Cromwell (1902).....1317 Park Ave.
 Biays, Tolley A. (1939).....2807 N. Howard St.
 Bibb, Charles W. (1939).....701 Cathedral St.
 Bibbins, Mrs. A. B. (1906).....2600 Maryland Ave.
 Birmingham, Miss Grace (1939).....Monkton, Md.
 Bishop, William R. (1916).....12 East 25th St.
 Black, Harry C., Jr. (1920).....Fidelity Building
 Black, Wilmer (1935).....16 E. Franklin St.
 Bladensburg Historical Society (1938)....Bladensburg, Maryland
 Blakiston, Mrs. Buchanan (Jessie }
 Gary Black) (1921)..... } Hurstleigh Ave., Woodbrook
 Blanchard, Peter P. (1939).....4814 Keswick Rd.
 Bland, R. Howard (1937).....Rolling Rd., Catonsville, Md.
 Bland, Mrs. William B. (1935).....Sparks, Md.
 Bliss, Dr. Wm. J. A. (1937).....1026 N. Calvert St.
 Blunt, Royden A. (1936).....Dorsey Hall Farm, Ellicott City, Md.
 Bode, Mrs. Wm. C. (Gulielma G. }
 Krebs Warner Hewes) (1937).... } 1900 Maryland Ave.
 Bond, Carroll T. (1916).....3507 N. Charles St.
 Bond, Duke (1919).....Charles & Read Sts.
 Bond, Eugene A. (1936).....Stevenson, Md.
 Bonsal, Leigh (1902).....103 Elmwood Rd.
 Boone, James R. Herbert (1934).... }
 Boone, Mrs. James R. Herbert } 765 Park Ave., N. Y. C.
 (Muriel H. Wurts-Dundas) (1934) }
 Borden, Mrs. E. M. (1936).....Washington Apts.
 Bordley, Dr. James, Jr. (1914).....Charlcote Place

- Bordley, Dr. James, 3rd (1937).....110 W. University Pkwy.
 Bosworth, Mrs. C. W. (Beatrice) } 2109 N. Calvert St.
 (1929) }
 Bouchet, Charles J. (1921).....206 E. Biddle St.
 Bounds, Mrs. George C. (1937).....Hebron, Md.
 Boulden, Mrs. Chas. Newton (1916).....P. O. Box 154, Baltimore
 Bouse, John H., M. D. (1926).....317 S. Ann St.
 Bowdoin, Mrs. Henry J. (Julia Mor- }
 ris) (1930)..... } Lawyers Hill, Relay, Md.
 Bowe, Dr. Dudley Pleasants (1927).....2 W. Read St.
 Bowie, Clarence K. (1916).....Mercantile Trust Bldg.
 Bowie, Forrest Dodge (1936).....Mt. Lubentia, R. F. D., Benning, D. C.
 Bowie, Miss Lucy Leigh (1936).....1301 Bolton St.
 Bowie, Mrs. Richmond Irving }
 (Effie Gwynn) (1934)..... } "Beechwood," Upper Marlboro, Md.
 Bowman, Isaiah (1936).....Oak Place, Charles St.
 Boyce, Fred. G., Jr. (1916).....4102 Greenway
 Boyce, Heyward E. (1912).....4 Club Rd.
 Boyce, Mrs. Prevost (1937).....2 Beechdale Rd.
 Brandt, Jackson (1935)..... }
 Brandt, Mrs. Jackson (1935)..... } Wyman Park Apts.
 Brent, Mrs. Duncan K. (1922).....Ruxton, Md.
 Brent, Mrs. Robert F. (1916).....The St. Paul Apts.
 Brewer, Wm. Treanor (1928).....4205 Penhurst Ave.
 Brewster, Mrs. Benjamin H., Jr. (1939).....Stevenson, Md.
 Brooks, Rodney J. (1937).....Melrose & Bellona Aves.
 Brown, Alexander (1902).....2500 Reistertown Rd.
 Brown, Mrs. Thomas R. (1936).....14 Whitfield Rd.
 Browne, Rev. Lewis Beeman (1907).....St. John's Rectory, Frostburg, Md.
 Broyles, Mrs. Edwin Nash (1936).....4405 Bedford Place
 Bruce, Howard (1925).....c/o Baltimore National Bank
 Bruce, Wm. Cabell (1909).....Ruxton, Md.
 Bruce, Mrs. Wm. Cabell (1920).....Ruxton, Md.
 Brun, B. Lucien, D. D. S. (1936).....827 Park Ave.
 Brune, Fred W. (1929).....2500 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
 Brune, H. M. (1902).....First National Bank Bldg.
 Buchanan, Thomas Gittings (1917).....804 Garrett Bldg.
 Buck, Charles H. (1937).....Munsey Bldg.
 Buck, Walter H. (1926).....609 Union Trust Bldg.
 Buckey, Mrs. Wm. G. (1931).....1815 Park Ave.
 Buckingham, E. G. (1927).....1019 Winding Way
 Bull, Mrs. Carroll G. (Zelma Me- }
 lissa Smith) (1937)..... } 3021 N. Calvert St.
 Bunn, Very Rev. Edward B., S. J. (1940).....Loyola College, Evergreen
 Burnett, Paul M. (1935).....Charles & Chase Sts.
 Butler, Thomas P. (1937).....c/o Safe Deposit & Trust Co.
 Butterfield, Clement F. (1927).....2723 N. Charles St.
 Byrd, Harry Clifton, Ph. D. (1938).....Univ. of Maryland, College Park, Md.
 Cadwalader, Thomas F. (1934).....217 W. Lanvale St.
 Cairnes, Miss Laura J. (1923).....4008 Roland Ave.
 Campbell, Mrs. Harry Guy (1938).....700 Highland Ave., Towson, Md.
 Campbell, Mrs. Harry Mackin (1938).....5717 Roland Ave.
 Campbell, Milton (1935).....Easton, Md.
 Carey, Charles H. (1919).....2220 N. Charles St.
 Carey, Lee C., Lt. Comm. U. S. N. }
 (Ret.) (1937)..... } Belvedere Hotel
 Carman, Mrs. Stanley (1936).....1617 Linden Ave.
 Carmine, Miss Margaret B. (1930).....Hopkins Apartments
 Carr, Mrs. Robert H. (1929).....653 University Pkwy.
 Carroll, Douglas Gordon (1913).....Brooklandville, Md.
 Carroll, Miss Louise E. (1935).....2015 Edgewood St.

Carroll, Miss M. Grace (1923)	.....	Roland Park Apts.
Carroll, Philip A. (1936)	.....	55 Wall St., New York City
Carter, Allan L. (1937)	.....	3902 N. Charles St.
Carter, H. LeRoy (1937)	.....	843 University Pkwy.
*Carter, Miss Sally Randolph (1923)	.....	204 W. Monument St.
Carton, Mrs. Lawrence R. (1935)	.....	"Poppinty House," Towson, Md.
Carver, Mrs. David J. (1935)	.....	217 Chancery Rd.
Cassell, W. Barry (1934)	.....	Brooklandville, Md.
Castle, Mrs. Guy W. S. (1932)	.....	Oxon Hill, Md.
Cathcart, Maxwell (1922)	.....	1408 Park Ave.
Chapman, James W., Jr. (1916)	.....	214 Northway
Chatard, Dr. J. Albert (1929)	.....	1300 N. Calvert St.
Chesney, Dr. Alan M. (1939)	.....	1419 Eutaw St.
Chesnut, Mrs. W. Calvin (1923)	.....	Ridgewood Road
Chesnut, W. Calvin (1897)	.....	Ridgewood Road
Chinard, Gilbert, Ph. D. (1935)	.....	93 Mercer St., Princeton, N. J.
Christhlf, Miss Katharine M. (1940)	.....	200 Cedarcroft Rd.
Clark, Miss Anna E. B. (1914)	.....	The St. Paul Apartments
*Clark, Miss Bertha L. (1930)	.....	106 Woodlawn Rd.
Clark, Ernest J. (1931)	.....	211 Highfield Rd.
Clark, Mrs. Gaylord Lee (1928)	.....	Stevenson, Md.
Clark, Louis T. (1929)	.....	Ellicott City, Md.
Clark, Walter L. (1921)	.....	1914 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
Clemens, Mrs. L. B. (Olivia Fendall) (1939)	..... }	"Evesham Place," Govans P. O.
Clemson, Charles O. (1928)	.....	Westminster, Maryland
Cleveland, Hon. Allan (1939)	.....	2124 Mt. Holly St.
Cleveland, Richard F. (1925)	.....	Baltimore Trust Bldg.
Close, Philip H. (1916)	.....	Bel Air, Md.
Cloud, Mr. & Mrs. William Wood- ward (1940)	..... }	3 Hillside Road
Coale, Joseph M. (1930)	.....	511 Keyser Bldg.
Coale, Mrs. Wm. Ellis (1936)	.....	1 E. University Pkwy.
Cochran, Wm. F. (1937)	.....	411 N. Charles St.
Coe, Ward B. (1920)	.....	Fidelity Building
Cogswell, Latrobe (1937)	.....	45 N. Evergreen Ave., Woodbury, N. J.
Cohn, Charles M. (1919)	.....	Lexington Bldg.
Cohn, Mrs. E. Herrman (Doris Maslin) (1930)	..... }	Princess Anne, Maryland
Cole, J. Wesley, M. D. (1931)	.....	2202 Garrison Ave.
Cole, Hon. William P. (1936)	.....	Towson, Md.
Coleman, William C. (1916)	.....	U. S. District Court, P. O. Bldg.
Collenberg, Mrs. Henry T. (1928)	.....	114 Witherspoon Rd.
Collinson, Mrs. John (1937)	.....	2808 N. Howard St.
Conlon, Charles C. (1937)	.....	3121 St. Paul St.
Conn, Mrs. William Tipton (1936)	.....	10 Midvale Rd.
Connolly, Gerald C. (1919)	.....	1116 N. Eutaw St.
Connolly, James E., M. D. (1928)	.....	1116 N. Eutaw St.
Constable, George W. (1940)	.....	Ruxton, Md.
Cook, Mrs. Grafflin (1936)	.....	Northway Apts.
Cook, Miss Jane James	.....	Stevenson, Md.
Cooke, Mrs. Miriam Baldwin (1930)	.....	Waterbury, Md.
Coonan, Edward V. (1907)	.....	121 W. Lafayette Ave.
Cooper, J. Crossan, Jr. (1937)	..... }	4402 Greenway
Cooper, Mrs. J. Crossan (1937) }	
Cooper, John P., Jr., (1940)	.....	3 Brightside Ave., Pikesville, Md.
Coriell, Dr. Lewis (1927)	.....	111 W. Monument St.
Corkran, Mrs. Benjamin W. (1919)	.....	Warrington Apts.
Corse, Mrs. G. Magruder (1940)	.....	3008 St. Paul St.
Cotten, Bruce (1912)	.....	Mt. Washington

* Deceased.

- *Cotton, Mrs. Frederick J. (Jane Baldwin) (1896)..... } Waterbury, Md.
 Coudon, Joseph (1920)..... Perryville, Md.
 Coulter, Philemon B. (1938)..... 711 Park Ave.
 Cox, Charles Hurley (1939)..... 3007 Shannon Drive
 Crabbs, W. J. (1939)..... 537 Brown Ave., Hagerstown, Md.
 Cranwell, J. H. (1895)..... 1622 Park Ave.
 Cranwell, John Philips (1936)..... 1622 Park Ave.
 Croker, Mrs. Edward J. (1922)..... Normandie Apts.
 Cromwell, Mrs. W. Kennedy (1916)..... Lake Roland
 Cronin, Mrs. W. H. (1932)..... Aberdeen, Md.
 Cull, Miss Mabel F. (1930)..... 1314 Bolton St.
 Cullen, Dr. Thos. S. (1926)..... 20 E. Eager St.
 Culver, Francis Barnum (1910)..... 1226 N. Calvert St.
 *Cunnane, Monsignor Joseph A. (1937)..... 2012 E. Monument St.
 Curley, Right Reverend Michael J., }
 Archbishop of Baltimore (1937)..... } 408 N. Charles St.
 Cutler, Geo. C. (1936)..... Garrison, Md.
 Dabney, Dr. William M. (1916)..... Ruxton, Md.
 Daiger, Mr. & Mrs. Matthais L. (1937)..... 3227 Vickers Rd.
 Daingerfield, Mrs. P. B. Key (1925)..... 4409 Greenway
 Dallam, C. Braxton (1924)..... 4001 Greenway
 Dalsheimer, Simon (1909)..... The Lord Baltimore Press
 Dalton, Joseph C. (1932)..... Sparks, Maryland
 Damuth, Rev. Warren K. (1923)..... Thurmont, Md.
 Dandy, Dr. Walter E. (1937)..... Johns Hopkins Hospital
 Darnall, Richard Bennett (1933)..... Greenock P. O., Maryland
 Darrell, Mrs. H. Cavendish (1937)..... 1109 Eutaw St.
 Dashiell, Benjamin J. (1914)..... Towson, Maryland
 Dashiell, Miss Mary Leeke (1934)..... Phoenix, Maryland
 Dashiell, N. Leeke, M. D. (1904)..... 2927 St. Paul St.
 Dashiell, Mrs. Nicholas L. (1922)..... 2927 St. Paul St.
 *Daves, John Collins (1923)..... 136 W. Lanvale St.
 Davis, Mrs. Allen A. (1934)..... 34 E. Melrose Ave.
 Davis, E. Asbury (1924)..... 119-21 S. Howard St.
 Davis, Mrs. Harry S. (1939)..... 2112 Brookfield Ave.
 Davis, Dr. J. Staige (1916)..... 215 Wendover Rd.
 Davis, Dr. S. Griffith (1935)..... 220 Chancery St.
 Davis, Dr. W. W. (1921)..... Box 724, Baltimore, Md.
 Davison, Miss Elizabeth T. (1925)..... Cecil Apts.
 Davison, Miss Carolina V. (1925)..... Cecil Apts.
 Dawson, E. Rowland (1940)..... 1113 N. Calvert St.
 Day, Miss Mary Forman (1907)..... { The Donald, 1523 22nd St., N. W.,
 } Washington, D. C.
 Debman, George R. (1937)..... Woodbrook, Baltimore, Md.
 Deford, Mrs. Robert B. }
 (Dorothea Hoffman) (1934)..... } Towson, Md.
 Delaplaine, Edward S. (1920)..... Frederick, Md.
 Dempster, Ryland N. (1937)..... 950 Baltimore Trust Building
 Denmead, Garner Wood (1923)..... 227 St. Paul St.
 Dennis, Mrs. James T. (1923)..... 933 Hickman Rd., Augusta, Ga.
 Dennis, James U. (1907)..... 2 E. Lexington St.
 Dennis, Oregon Milton (1922)..... New Amsterdam Bldg.
 Dennis, Samuel K. (1905)..... Court House
 *Detrick, Miss Lillie (1919)..... 104 E. Biddle St.
 Dickerson, Hon. Edwin T. (1939)..... 3004 Garrison Blvd.
 Dielman, Louis H. (1905)..... Peabody Institute
 Digges, Miss Anne Bond (1938)..... 3415 Duval Ave.
 Digges, Mrs. Edward William (1939)..... 6016 Bellona Ave.

- Dixon, James (1926).....Easton, Maryland
 Dodson, Herbert K. (1909).....344 N. Charles St.
 Doebler, Valentine S. (1922).....Greenway and St. Martin's Rd.
 Doehler, Edward A. (1935).....Loyola College, Evergreen
 Dole, Dr. Esther M. (1937).....Washington College, Chestertown, Md.
 Donn, Edward W., Jr. (1935).....10 E. Bradley Lane, Chevy Chase, Md.
 Donnelly, Edward A. (1919).....213 N. Calvert St.
 Donoho, Edmond S. (1939).....18 N. Charles St.
 Dorsey, Dr. Caleb, Jr. (1927).....1659 W. North Ave.
 Dorsey, Mrs. John L. (1940).....1015 St. George's Rd.
 Downey, Dr. Jesse W., Jr. (1929).....209 Hawthorne Rd.
 Dozer, Donald Marquand, Ph. D. } Univ. of Maryland, College Park
 (1938).....}
 Dryden, Leslie P. (1939).....2305 Homewood Ave.
 Dryden, Thos. P. (1930).....6212 Blackburne Lane, Cedarcroft
 Duer, Thomas Marshall (1935).....3909 Canterbury Rd.
 Duffy, Edward (1920).....138 W. Lanvale St.
 Duffy, Mrs. Eleanor Bernard (1927).....110 W. North Ave.
 Duffy, Henry (1916).....110 W. North Ave.
 Dugan, Miss Mary Coale (1919).....124 W. Lanvale St.
 Duke, Charles C. (1939).....101 W. Monument St.
 Duke, W. Bernard (1909).....Valley Lee, Md.
 Dukehart, Morton Mcl. (1920).....2744 N. Calvert St.
 Duker, Mrs. J. Edward (1923).....3904 N. Charles St.
 Dulany, Mrs. Josephine Lanahan (1936).....Washington Apts.
 *Dunahue, Mrs. Wilbur C. (1923).....1620 Bolton St.
 Dunton, Wm. Rush, Jr., M. D. (1902).....33 Symington Ave., Catonsville, Md.
 Durrell, Percy Brooks (1935).....2206 Roslyn Ave.
 Duvall, Mrs. Richard M.2905 N. Charles St.
 Eareckson, F. Leif (1928).....23 S. Hanover St.
 Easter, Mrs. James W. (Anita T.) } Owings Mills, Md.
 (1929).....}
 *Eaton, Miss Ida M. (1937).....119 W. Franklin St.
 Edmondson, Mrs. Frank Gordon (1928) }
 Edmondson, J. Hooper (1928)..... } Roland Park Apts.
 Edmondson, W. W., Jr. }
 Edwards, Mrs. Charles Reid (1935).....106 Longwood Rd.
 Edwards, Mrs. Edmund P. (1928).....7 Midvale Rd.
 Egerton, Stuart (1919).....106 Elmhurst Rd.
 Ellicott, Charles E. (1918).....Melvale, Md.
 Ellicott, William M. (1929)..... }
 Ellicott, Mrs. Wm. M. (1929)..... } 714 St. Paul St.
 Ellinger, Esther Parker (1922).....12 W. 25th St.
 Ellis, Edward D., M. D. (1936).....106 St. Dunstons Rd.
 Elphinstone, Lewis M. (1939).....4705 Roland Ave.
 Emmart, Wm. W. (1924).....1818 Munsey Bldg.
 Englar, George Monroe (1928).....Roland Park Apts.
 England, Joseph Townsend (1939).....43 Iglehart Bldg.
 Evans, Mrs. Z. Bond, Jr. (1933)..... }
 Evans, Z. Bond, Jr. (1934)..... } 900 E. Preston St.
 Ewell, Mrs. Emmett Robinson (1937).....1513 Bolton St.
 Fairfax, Mrs. John (1938).....101 W. 29th St.
 Falconer, Chas. E. (1915).....1630 Bolton St.
 Fenhagen, G. Corner (1918).....325 N. Charles St.
 Fenhagen, James C. (1927).....c/o Baltimore National Bank
 Fenwick, G. Bernard (1929).....Glyndon, Md.
 Fickus, Henry J. (1927).....4506 Mainfield Ave.
 Finch, Rayme W. (1937).....207 W. 29th St.
 Findlay, Miss Mary P. B. (1930).....1510 Bolton St.

Finley, Mrs. W. Norville (1930)	605 N. Charles St.
Finney, Miss Catherine (1934)	937 St. Paul St.
Finney, W. W. (1939)	Aberdeen, Md.
Fisher, D. K. E. (1916)	1301 Park Ave.
Fisher, Samuel J. (1932)	Union Trust Bldg.
Fisher, Dr. Wm. A. (1924)	715 Park Ave.
Fitzgerald, Charles G. (1923)	3507 N. Charles St.
Flack, Horace E. (1938)	Mt. Washington, Md.
Flack, Mrs. James W., Jr. (1937)	2921 St. Paul St.
Flack, James W., Jr. (1939)	2921 St. Paul St.
Fleming, Miss Elizabeth Boyd (1925)	Canterbury Hall Apartments
Florence, Nellie G. (1931)	Brentwood P. O., Md.
Flynn, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph J. (1937)	1702 Park Ave.
Fogg, George W. (1939)	College Park, Md.
Fooks, Major Herbert C. (1921)	723 Munsey Building
Forbes, George (1924)	601 Maryland Trust Building
Ford, Horace A. (1937)	3401 Greenway
Forman, Henry Chandlee (1933)	Farm-of-Four Winds, Ruxton, Md.
Foster, Mrs. Henry C. (1939)	Clear Spring, Md.
Foster, James W. (1935)	203 Oakdale Rd.
Fowler, Mrs. Edith E. (1939)	104 Washington St., Cumberland, Md.
Fowler, Laurence Hall (1919)	347 N. Charles St.
Fowler, Miss Louisa Mc. E. (1939)	Washington Apts.
France, Jacob (1926)	Calvert Building
France, Mrs. Jacob (1926)	Old Court Rd., Pikesville, Md.
Frank, Eli (1923)	2007 Sulgrave Ave., Mt. Washington
Franklin, Mrs. Benjamin (1921)	104 W. 39th St.
Friederick, Eugene (1939)	3208 Brightwood Ave.
Freeman, Dr. E. B. (1926)	807 Cathedral St.
Freeman, J. Douglas (1914)	203 Woodlawn Rd.
French, H. Findlay (1929)	2303 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
French, Dr. John C. (1924)	416 Cedarcroft Road
Frick, Fred. M. (1936)	609 Keyser Bldg.
Frick, George Arnold (1914)	20 E. Lexington St.
Friedenwald, Harry, M. D. (1919)	1212 Eutaw Place
Friedenwald, Julius, M. D. (1919)	1013 N. Charles St.
Friedenwald, Mrs. Julius (1937)	1013 N. Charles St.
Gaither, Charles D. (1919)	"Stockwood," Ellicott City, Md.
Gale, Walter R. (1921)	241 W. Lanvale St.
Gambrill, Mrs. Chauncey (Gabrielle E.) (1935)	Northway Apts.
Gans, Arthur D. (1939)	117 B. & O. Bldg.
Garcelon, Mrs. Herbert I. (1924)	Severna Park, Anne Arundel Co., Md.
Gardiner, Norman Bentley (1938)	Riderwood, Md.
Garrett, John W. (1898)	4545 N. Charles St.
Garrett, Mrs. Robert (1928)	Charles St. and Wyndhurst Ave.
Garrett, Robert (1898)	
George, Mrs. Thomas Stevens (Esther Ridgely) (1934)	Towson, Md.
Gibbs, John S., Jr. (1914)	Lakeside, Md.
Gibbs, Mrs. Rufus M. (1924)	1209 St. Paul St.
Gill, Mrs. Robert Lee (1924)	11 Club Road
Gilleland, Mrs. Marion A. (1936)	2017 E. North Ave.
Gillet, Mrs. James McClure (1939)	1420 Park Ave.
Gilpin, Mrs. Arthington, Jr. (1935)	7 Gittings Ave.
Gillis, Dr. Andrew G. (1923)	1033 N. Calvert St.
Ginhart, Franklin K. (1938)	Rockdale, Md.
Gittings, Miss Victoria (1920)	1428 Park Ave.
Goldsborough, Phillips Lee (1915)	Tudor Arms Apts.
Goldsborough, Richard (1939)	Easton, Maryland
Goldsmith, Mr. and Mrs. John Gray (1937)	812 E. 41st St.

- Gordon, Mrs. Alan L. (1937).....1613 Bolton St.
 Gordon, Mrs. Alexander H. (1916).....1009 N. Charles St.
 Gordon, Douglas H. (1928).....100 E. Chase St.
 Gore, Clarence S., M. D. (1940).....Fidelity Bldg.
 Gorman, Mrs. Grace Norris (1923).....Laurel, Md.
 *Gorter, James P. (1902).....121 Taplow Rd.
 Gorter, Poultney (1939).....5314 St. Albans Way
 Gough, Mrs. I. Pike (1916).....Hopkins Apts.
 Graham, Albert D. (1915).....First National Bank Bldg.
 Graham, Boyd B. (1936).....4310 St. Paul St.
 Graham, R. Walter, Sr. (1936).....4310 St. Paul St.
 Graham, R. Walter, Jr., M. D. (1935).....700 Cathedral St.
 Graham, Robert Lee (1936).....4310 St. Paul St.
 Gramkow, Mrs. Frank (Emma War- }
 field) (1919).....} 22 E. Eager St.
 Green, Elmer S. (1934).....54 Ridge Rd., Yonkers, N. Y.
 *Green, Harry B. (1935).....Baltimore Trust Bldg.
 Green, Mrs. John M. (1938).....4 Acton Place, Annapolis, Md.
 Greenfield, Kent Roberts, Ph. D. (1934).....Tudor Arms Apts.
 Greenway, Miss Elizabeth W. (1917).....2322 N. Charles St.
 *Greenway, William H. (1886).....2322 N. Charles St.
 Gregg, Maurice (1886).....719 N. Charles St.
 Griswold, Alexander Brown (1935).....Monkton, Md.
 Griswold, B. Howell, Jr. (1913).....Alex. Brown & Sons
 Gross, Jacob (1937).....1605 Chilton St.
 Hall, Miss Adelphine (1928).....5304 Springlake Way
 Hall, Arthur, Jr. (1939).....St. Thomas' Lane, Owings Mills, Md.
 Hall, Mrs. Arthur H., Sr. (1938).....McDonogh Lane, Pikesville, Md.
 Hall, Cary D., Jr. (1919).....706 Fidelity Bldg.
 Hall, Miss Rosabel E. (1928).....2406 Kenoak Ave., Mt. Washington
 Hall, Sidney (1937).....1319 Park Ave.
 Hall, Dr. William S. (1922).....215 Woodlawn Rd.
 *Hambleton, Mrs. F. S. (1907).....Hambledune, Lutherville, Md.
 Hamilton, Mrs. S. Henry (1939).....1212 Bolton St.
 Hamman, Mrs. Louis (1923).....315 Overhill Rd.
 Hammond, Edward (1923).....140 W. Lanvale St.
 Hammond, Edward Hopkins (1923).....Union Trust Bldg.
 Hancock, James E. (1907).....2122 St. Paul St.
 Hann, Charles K. (1936).....First National Bank
 Hann, Samuel K. (1915).....3902 Canterbury Rd.
 Hanson, Aquilla Brown (1928).....3622 Greenmount Ave.
 Harding, Rev. Carroll E. (1939).....4707 Greenhill Ave.
 Hardinge, Mr. and Mrs. Harold, Jr. }
 (1932).....} 2450 Eutaw Place
 Harlan, Henry D., LL. D. (1894).....Fidelity Building.
 Harlan, Mrs. Henry D. (1928).....4909 Falls Rd.
 Harper, George Houston (1921).....Homewood Apts.
 Harris, Miss Helen Nicholson (1928).....St. Paul Apts.
 Harris, Norris (1927).....}
 Harris, Mrs. Norris (1926).....} 2906 Alameda Blvd.
 Harris, Mrs. W. Hall (Alice Patter- }
 son) (1919).....} 11 East Chase St.
 Harris, W. Hall, Jr. (1938).....31 E. Mt. Vernon Pl.
 Harris, W. Hall, 3rd (1938).....1210 Bolton St.
 Harrison, Dr. Edmund P. H., Jr. (1934).....2903 N. Charles St.
 Harrison, George (1915).....4426 Marble Hall Rd.
 Harrison, J. Edward (1915).....2225 Callow Ave.
 Harrison, Miss Rebekah (1919).....Ellicott City, Md.
 Harrison, Robert (1936).....Garrison, Md.

* Deceased.

Hart, Robert S. (1923)	101 W. Monument St.
Hayden, Mrs. Lewis M. (1927)	2010 Park Ave.
Hayes, Robert F., Jr. (1923)	3526 Roland Ave.
Hayward, F. Sidney (1897)	Harwood Ave., Govans
Hecht, Miss Beatrice Mae (1936)	Arlington Park Apts.
Helfenstein, Rev. Edward T. (1920)	105 W. Monument St.
Henderson, Charles F. (1919)	Continental Trust Bldg.
Henderson, George (1934)	Cumberland, Md.
Henderson, Mrs. Louisa P. (1919)	Cumberland, Md.
Hendler, L. Manuel (1939)	913 Lake Drive
Henry, Daniel M. (1923)	Easton, Maryland
Henry, Mrs. M. Lynn (1928)	Linthicum Heights, Md.
Henry, Mrs. Roberta B. (1914)	"Myrtle Grove," Easton, Md.
Herring, Thomas R. (1919)	10 South St.
Hewes, M. Warner (1922)	2315 Maryland Ave.
Hicks, Admiral T. Holliday (1938)	Cambridge, Md.
Hicks, T. Russell (1929)	106 W. Madison St.
Hill, John Philip (1899)	Army & Navy Club Washington, D. C.
Hilles, Mrs. William S. (1934)	4603 Millbrook Rd., Guilford
Hills, William G. (1938)	6 Shepherd St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Hines, Rev. Charles J. (1922)	27 S. Ellwood Ave.
Hinkley, John (1900)	215 N. Charles St.
Hintz, Carl W. (1938)	Univ. of Maryland, College Park, Md.
Hitchcock, Ella Sprague (1919)	219 City Hall
Hobbs, Miss Mary E. (1939)	Denton, Md.
*Hodges, Mrs. Ellen W. (1937)	3840 30th St., Mt. Rainier, Md.
Hoen, Albert B. (1935)	100 Ridgewood Rd.
Hoff, Mrs. Violet B. (1924)	4202 Somerset Place
Hogan, Dr. John F. (1929)	7 East Preston St.
Holbeine, Sister M. Clotilde (1933)	Mercy Hospital
Holdcraft, Mehrling (1930)	2315 Harlem Ave.
Holland, Miss Eugenia (1934)	4713 Roland Ave.
Hollander, Jacob H., Ph. D. (1895)	1802 Eutaw Place
Holloway, Mrs. Reuben Ross (1939)	Greenway Apts.
Holly, Miss Netta E. (1934)	Havre de Grace, Md.
Holt, W. Stull, Ph. D. (1934)	205 Cedarcroft Rd.
*Homer, Mrs. Jane Abell (1909)	Riderwood, Md.
Hooff, Miss Mary Stabler (1922)	1205 Linden Ave.
Hooper, Miss Florence (1937)	4506 Roland Ave.
Hoopes, Miss Blanche L. (1935)	Blackstone Apts.
Hoopes, Miss M. Ella (1935)	Homewood Apts.
Hopkins, Mrs. Mabel Ford (1924)	2 Wyndhurst Ave.
Hopkins, Roger Brooke, Jr. (1938)	"Bagatelle," Woodbrook, Baltimore
Hopper, Charles Cox (1930)	1405 John St.
Horine, Cyrus F., M. D. (1935)	3907 N. Charles St.
Hough, Miss Anne Edmondson (1928)	212 Lambeth Rd.
Hough, Miss Ethel (1937)	212 Lambeth Rd.
Howard, Arthur C. (1937)	329 Dolphin St.
Howard, Charles McHenry (1902)	901 St. Paul St.
Howard, Charles Morris (1907)	1010 Munsey Bldg.
Howard, John D. (1917)	209 W. Monument St.
Howard, John Eager, of B. (1936)	Joppa Rd., Towson, Md.
Howard, Miss Julia McHenry (1927)	} 901 St. Paul St.
Howard, Miss May (1927)	
Howell, G. Robert (1935)	Fidelity Bldg.
Howell, William H., M. D. (1935)	112 St. Dunstan's Rd.
Howell, William R., Ph. D. (1929)	402 Washington Ave., Chestertown, Md.
Hoye, Charles E. (1931)	4615 W. 18th St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Hoyt, William Dana, Jr. (1930)	2019 Maryland Ave.
Hubbard, Thomas F. (1928)	3324 Ellerslie Ave.

* Deceased.

- Hubbard, Mrs. Wilbur W. (1940).....Chestertown, Md.
 Hubner, William R. (1920).....Safe Deposit and Trust Co.
 Hughes, Thomas (1886).....1018 Cathedral St.
 Hutchins, Miss Katherine K. (1928).....142 W. Lanvale St.
 Hutzler, Albert D. (1936)....."Pomona," Pikesville, Md.
 Hyde, Bryden Bordley (1940)....."Evesham," Northern Parkway
 Hyde, Enoch Pratt (1906).....3507 N. Charles St.
 Hynson, W. George (1925).....Ruxton, Md.
 Hysan, William B., Jr. (1937).....1825 E. Baltimore St.
- Iglehart, Miss M. Luckett (1931).....218 Laurens St.
 Ijams, Miss Ella (1933).....3702 Mohawk Ave.
 Ijams, Mrs. George W. (1913).....804 Park Ave.
 Ing, Mrs. Carrie Shallus (1938).....106 W. University Pkwy.
 Ingle, Miss Eliza (1934).....1710 Park Ave.
 Ingle, William (1909).....1710 Park Ave.
 Isaacs, Miss Bertha P. (1934)....."Maplewood," Elkridge, Md.
 Israel, Miss Ellen C. (1934).....701 Cathedral St.
- Jackson, Mrs. George S. (1910).....Garrison, Md.
 Jackson, Mayor Howard W. (1937). }
 Jackson, Mrs. Howard W. (1936)... } 5222 Springlake Way
 Jacobs, Frank, Esq. (1935).....Bel Air, Md.
 *Jacobs, Henry Barton, M. D. (1903)... } 11 W. Mt. Vernon Place
 James, Macgill (1934).....3434 University Place
 James, Mrs. Richard H. (1940).....1641 Ellamont St.
 Janney, Stuart S. (1924).....1635 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
 Janney, Mrs. Stuart S. (1936).....Garrison, Md.
 Jarman, Miss Martha F. (1934).....Princess Anne, Md.
 Jeffery, Mrs. Elmore Berry (1933).....307 Somerset Rd.
 Jencks, Mrs. Francis M. (1924).....1 W. Mt. Vernon Place
 Jenkins, M. Ernest (1924).....Lake Ave., Roland Park, P. O.
 Johnson, Mrs. Edward M. (1924).....843 University Pkwy.
 Johnson, Miss Mary Louise (1935).....Frederick, Md.
 Johnston, Mrs. John Edward (1936)... } Charlcote House
 Johnston, Mrs. Lola E. (1929)..... } Warrington Apts.
 Jones, Arthur Lafayette (1911).....1516 Bolton St.
 Jones, Miss Ruth (1932).....Towson, Md.
 - Joseph, Miss Bertha Coblens (1939) }
 - Joseph, Miss Jeannette (1936).... } 1513 Eutaw Place
 Joyce, Mrs. John Collinson (1936).....Iris Hill-on-Severn, Arnold P. O., Md.
 Joyce, Temple N. (1927).....Joyce Station, Md.
 Judik, Mrs. J. Henry (1918).....3906 St. Paul St.
- Katz, Joseph (1935).....7201 Park Heights Ave.
 Keech, Mrs. Carolina Pagon (1924).....203 Ridgewood Road
 *Keech, Edw. P., Jr. (1909).....900-901 Maryland Trust Building
 Keidel, Albert, M. D. (1936).....804 Medical Arts Bldg.
 Kelley, William J. (1939).....2303 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
 Kellum, William H. (1935).....2633 N. Charles St.
 Kelly, Howard A., M. D. (1919).....1418 Eutaw Place
 Kemp, Ernest W. (1935).....219 W. Centre St.
 Kenney, Benj. F. (1937).....c/o Central Savings Bank
 Keys, Miss Jane G. (1905).....605 E. 41st St.
 Keyser, H. Irvine, 2nd (1928).....4103 St. Paul St.
 Keyser, W. Irvine (1917).....Stevenson, Md.
 King, Edward Stevenson (1938).....5305 Falls Road Terrace
 Kirkman, Walter N. (1927).....Rolling Road, Catonsville, Md.
 Klein, Daniel E. (1937).....618 University Pkwy., W.
 Knox, J. H. Mason, Jr., M. D. (1909)... } 211 Wendover Road
 Koppelman, Walter (1927)..... } 102 Milbrook Rd.
 Kriel, Mrs. Walter E. (1938).....Hampstead, Md.

Lanahan, Mrs. William Wallace (Eleanor Williams) (1929).....	} Long Crandon, Towson, Md.
Lane, William Preston, Jr. (1939).....	Hagerstown, Md.
Lasson, Nelson B. (1939).....	2427 Callow Ave.
Latrobe, Ferdinand C. (1932).....	3921 Canterbury Rd.
Leach, Miss Mary Clara (1924).....	4014 Edmondson Ave.
Leach, Calvert R. (1938).....	206 W. Saratoga St.
Leakin, Margaret Dobbin (1920).....	Lake Roland, Md.
Leakin, Miss Susan Dobbin (1923).....	103 W. Monument St.
Lee, H. H. M. (1923).....	1930 Mt. Royal Terrace
Lee, John L. G. (1916).....	511 Calvert Building
Le Fevre, Mrs. Wm. Douglas (1935)....	R. F. D. 1, Chesapeake City, Md.
Legg, John C., Jr. (1916).....	222 E. Redwood St.
Leser, C. C. Fulton (1935).....	4403 Bedford Place
Leupold, Mrs. Richard J. (1934).....	223 E. Preston St.
Levering, Edwin W., Jr. (1935).....	Ruxton, Md.
Levy, Lester S. (1937).....	Lombard & Paca Sts.
Levy, Oscar G. (1928).....	423 N. Fulton Ave.
Levy, William B. (1909).....	3700 N. Charles St.
Lewis, Prof. Charles L., U. S. N. A. (1936).....	} 41 Southgate Ave., Annapolis, Md.
Linville, Charles H. (1918).....	4003 Keswick Rd.
Litsinger, Miss Elizabeth C. (1938)....	1503 Mt. Royal Ave.
Littig, Mrs. John M. (1919).....	Cambridge Apartments
Lloyd, Mrs. Charles Howard (1928)....	Easton, Md.
Lloyd, Wm. Henry (1937).....	1118 N. Calvert St.
Lockard, G. Carroll, M. D. (1919).....	2925 N. Charles St.
Lockard, Mrs. G. Carroll (1930).....	2925 N. Charles St.
Lockhart, Henry, Jr. (1935).....	"Cleghorn-on-Wye," Longwoods, Md.
Long, Mrs. Breckenridge (1931).....	Laurel, Md.
Lord, Mrs. J. Walter (1923).....	4314 Roland Court
Lord, Mrs. J. Williams (1919).....	1011 N. Charles St.
Lowry, Henry A. (1939).....	610 W. 40th St.
Lowry, Mrs. Henry A. (1938).....	610 W. 40th St.
Lucas, J. C. M. (1936).....	Standard Oil Building
Lynch, Mrs. M. John.....	} Westminister, Md.
(Branford Gist) (1939).....	}
Lyon, Miss Grace (1923).....	223 Wendover Rd.
McCabe, Jos. A. (1936).....	1312 Homewood Ave.
McCardell, Lee (1929).....	4618 Wilmslow Rd.
McCarty, Mrs. Agatha Shipley (1935)...	636 Cokesbury Ave.
McCleary, Oscar Wood (1938).....	3365 Chestnut Ave.
McCleave, R. Hugh (1928).....	Cumberland, Maryland
McColgan, Charles C. (1916).....	2710 N. Calvert St.
McColgan, Edward (1921).....	200 N. Beechwood Ave.
McCormick, R. A. (1914).....	3807 Fenchurch Road
McCormick-Goodhart, Leander (1928)...	"Langley Park," Hyattsville, Md.
Maccubbin, Mrs. Wm. H. (1936).....	1925 E. 32nd St.
McCulloch, Mrs. Duncan (1932).....	Glencoe, Md.
McCullough, David Norman (1938)....	2702 Roslyn Ave.
MacGill, James (1934).....	Atholton, Md.
Machen, Arthur W. (1917).....	1109 Calvert Bldg.
Machen, Thomas (1937).....	Poplar Hill Rd.
McHenry, John (1929).....	Owings Mills, Md.
*McIlvain, Miss Elizabeth Grant (1917)...	908 St. Paul St.
McIntosh, J. Rieman (1937).....	Baltimore Trust Bldg.
McIntyre, Edward J. (1934).....	1213 N. Luzerne Ave.
Mackall, R. McGill (1928).....	2423 Pickwick Rd.
McKenrick, Mrs. Carl Ross (1939).....	321 Hawthorne Rd.
McKim, S. S. (1902).....	P. O. Box 893

- McLanahan, Mrs. Austin }
 (Romaine LeMoyne) (1931)..... } Greenspring & Woodlawn Aves.
- McLane, Allan (1894)..... Owings Mills, Md.
- McLane, Miss Elizabeth C. (1919)..... Warrington Apts.
- MacLean, Dr. Angus L. (1933)..... 1201 N. Calvert St.
- McWilliams, Miss Mary Matthews }
 (1929) } 1732 N. Calvert St.
- Magee, Mr. and Mrs. John Alexander }
 (1936) } 14 Hillside Rd.
- Magruder, Caleb Clarke (1930)..... Upper Marlboro, Md.
- Magruder, Miss Louise E. (1929)..... Annapolis, Md.
- Maloy, William Milnes (1911)..... 308 Overhill Rd.
- Manakee, Harold Randall (1938)..... }
 Manakee, Mrs. Harold Randall } 2802 Silver Hill Ave.
 (Beta Kaessman) (1938)..... }
- Manning, James R. (1928)..... Briarfield, Poplar Hill Road
- Marburg, Theodore (1931)..... 14 W. Mt. Vernon Pl.
- Marine, Miss Harriet P. (1915)..... Box 40, Druid Station, Baltimore
- Markell, Charles (1937)..... 1804 1st Nat'l Bank Bldg.
- Markell, Mrs. Francis H. (1923)..... Frederick City, Md.
- Marshall, Morgan (1935)..... 3804 St. Paul St.
- Marshall, Mrs. Robert E. Lee (1937)..... 1013 Poplar Hill Rd.
- Martin, Edward D. (1939)..... Calvert Bldg.
- Marye, William B. (1911)..... 207 E. Preston St.
- Massey, Mr. & Mrs. J. Allan (1923)..... 1514 33rd St.
- Massey, Miss M. E. (1925)..... 105 Maple Ave., Chestertown, Md.
- Mather, L. B. (1922)..... 315 E. 22nd St.
- Mathews, Edward B., Ph. D. (1905)..... Johns Hopkins University
- Mathews, Mrs. Henry C. (1927)..... 1302 St. Paul St.
- Maynard, Julian H., Lt. Comm. }
 U. S. N. (1936)..... } c/o Postmaster, New York City
- Maynard, Mrs. Sellman (1938)..... 2507 Roslyn Ave.
- Mears, Mrs. Adelbert Warren (1930)..... 3102 Hilton St.
- Mencken, August (1928)..... 1524 Hollins St.
- Menzies, John T. (1937)..... Lutherville, Md.
- Merredith, Mr. & Mrs. Clyde Robe }
 (1940) } 2023 Maryland Ave.
- Merrick, Robert G. (1937)..... Munsey Bldg.
- Merritt, Elizabeth, Ph.D. (1939)..... 3402 W. North Ave.
- Meyer, Mrs. Robert A. (1924)..... 3047 Brighton St.
- Meyer, Walter F. (1937)..... 800 Glen Allen Drive
- Mickle, Mrs. Marbury (1923)..... The Sherwood Hotel
- Miller, Miss Alice E. (1938)..... Port Deposit, Md.
- Miller, Charles R. (1916)..... 2200 Roslyn Ave.
- *Miller, Edgar G., Jr. (1916)..... 808 Fidelity Building
- Miller, R. Fowler (1937)..... {
 c/o Supt. Telegraph B. & O. R. R.,
 Camden Station
- Miller, Mrs. Warren D. (1924)..... 160 W. Washington St., Hagerstown, Md.
- Miller, Mrs. William E. (1922)..... 7 Beechdale Rd.
- Mintz, Mrs. Julius (1924)..... 1009 Calvert Bldg.
- Mitchell, Mrs. Robert L. (1921)..... 2112 Maryland Ave.
- Moore, Mrs. Charles E. (1938)..... 4414 Roland Ave.
- Moore, Mrs. Joseph Earle (1933) }
 (Grace Barclay) } 4422 Underwood Rd.
- Moore, Mrs. W. A. (1940)..... 3133 Rosalie Ave.
- Morgan, Philip S. (1936)..... 514 St. Paul Place
- Morgan, Zachariah R., M. D. (1931)..... 3 Deepdene Rd.
- Morrison, Mrs. Harry (1935)..... Woodbrook, Md.
- Morton, Samuel P., Jr. (1934)..... Ambassador Apts.
- Mullikin, James C. (1938)..... 802 Kingston Rd., Stoneleigh

Mullikin, Kent R. (1933)	306 Montgomery Ave., Laurel, Md.
Mullin, Miss Elizabeth Lester (1916)	1501 Park Ave.
Munroe, Mrs. Kenneth O. (1927)	543 Park Ave., Towson, Md.
Murdoch, Miss Mildred Laws (1926)	1527 Bolton St.
Murray, John Donaldson, M. D. (1921)	206 W. Monument St.
Murray, Miss Mercedes M. (1926)	1309 W. 42nd St.
Muse, Mrs. H. Lee (1930)	3748 Beech Ave.
Myers, Mrs. Philip (1935)	5 Maryland Ave., Towson, Md.
Myers, Miss Rebecca (1940)	Sherwood Hotel
Nance, O. H. (1937)	4002 St. Paul St.
Nelson, J. Arthur (1921)	227 St. Paul St.
Ness, George T., Jr. (1940)	633 Equitable Bldg.
New, Mrs. Jacob S. (1937)	101 W. Monument St.
Newcomer, B. Frank (1937)	100 Witherspoon Rd.
Nice, Mrs. Harry Whinna (1937)	Mt. Washington, Baltimore
Nichols, Firmadage King, M. D. (1929)	4711 Roland Ave.
Nicolai, Charles D. (1916)	3809 Dorchester Rd.
Nimmo, Mrs. Nannie Ball (1920)	3207 N. Calvert St.
Nolting, William G. (1919)	11 E. Chase St.
Norris, Walter B. (1924)	Wardour, Annapolis, Md.
Nyburg, Sydney L. (1921)	1504 First National Bank Building
Ober, Gustavus, Jr. (1914)	Woodbrook, Govans P. O., City
Ober, J. Hambleton (1940)	3803 St. Paul St.
O'Connor, Hon. Herbert R. (Governor of Maryland) (1937)	Governor's House, Annapolis, Md.
O'Ferrall, Alfred J. (1936)	100 St. Paul St.
Offutt, T. Scott (1908)	Towson, Md.
Old, Francis E., Jr. (1931)	1915 Park Ave.
Oliver, John R., M. D. (1919)	1900 E. Monument St.
Olivier, Stuart (1913)	2 Wyndhurst Ave.
Onderdonk, Adrian H. (1940)	St. James School, Hagerstown, Md.
Oppenheimer, Reuben (1924)	1508 1st Nat'l Bank Building
Orndorff, James Ridgely (1929)	Homewood Apts.
Orrick, S. Hilton (1938)	209 E. Biddle St.
Owens, Edward B., Jr. (1927)	420 Cedarcroft Road
Owens, Hamilton (1937)	c/o Evening Sun, Baltimore
Owens, John W. (1937)	103 Goodale Road
Paca, John P., Jr. (1931)	729 Title Bldg.
Page, Mrs. James (1929)	Homewood Apts.
Page, Wm. C. (1912)	Calvert Bank
Paine, James R. (1933)	18 E. Baltimore St.
Parke, Francis Neal (1910)	Westminster, Md.
Parker, Mrs. Jameson (1939)	2418 Pickwick Rd.
Parks, Miss Ida M. (1922)	11 W. Saratoga St.
Parran, Mrs. Frank J. (1908)	144 W. Lanvale St.
Parran, Dalrymple (1926)	1708 N. Calvert St.
Passano, Mrs. Edward B. (1935)	{ York Road and Susquehanna Ave., Tow- son, Md.
Pattison, Sam W. (1935)	407 N. Howard St.
Paul, Mrs. D'Arcy (1909)	Blythewood Road
Paul, John Gilman D'Arcy (1927)	Blythewood Road
Paul, Rev. Peter J., O. S. A. (1938)	St. Mary's Rectory, Annapolis, Md.
Pearce, Mr. and Mrs. William H. (1939)	100 University Pkwy., W.
*Penniman, J. A. Dushane (1938)	19 East Fayette St.
Pentz, Harry G. (1938)	1824 West Baltimore St.
Perine, Mrs. George Corbin (1916)	1124 Cathedral St.
Perine, Washington (1917)	607 Cathedral St.
Perkins, Miffilin Thomas (1935)	3118 Howard Park Ave.

* Deceased.

- Perkins, Walter F. (1935).....104 Tunbridge Rd.
 Perlman, Philip B. (1936).....Munsey Bldg.
 Piper, Mrs. James (1935).....Eccleston, Md.
 Pitts, Miss Mary B. (1927).....100 University Pkwy., W.
 Pitts, Tilghman G. (1924).....129 E. Redwood St.
 Pleasants, J. Hall, M. D. (1898).....201 Longwood Road, Roland Park
 Pleasants, Mrs. Richard H. (1936).....103 W. Monument St.
 Poe, Edgar Allan (1929).....U. S. F. & G. Building.
 Poe, Mrs. William C. (1940).....211 W. Lanvale St.
 Pollitt, L. Irving (1916).....1715 Park Place
 Porter, Miss Bessie (1926).....Greenway Apts.
 Post, A. H. S. (1916).....Mercantile Trust and Deposit Co.
 Potter, Henry Betram (1936).....c/o Baltimore Transit Co.
 Powell, Henry Fletcher (1923).....309 W. Lanvale St.
 Powell, Rev. Noble C. (1934).....St. Albans Cathedral, Wash., D. C.
 Presstman, Miss Marie W. (1940).....3911 Canterbury Rd.
 Preston, Mrs. Herbert R. (1936).....Catonsville, Md.
 Price, Mrs. Juliet Hammond (1924).....Sherwood Hotel
 Purdum, Mrs. Bradley K. (1923).....5401 Harford Rd.
 Purdum, Frank C. (1922).....7017 Harford Rd.
 Purkins, Robert T. (1940).....1519 Lakeside Ave.
- Radcliffe, George L., Ph. D. (1908)....Fidelity Building
 Radoff, Morris Leon, Ph. D. (1937)....Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.
 Ralston, Mrs. David A. (1935).....Severna Park, Md.
 Ramey, Mrs. Mary E. W. (1922).....9 E. Franklin St.
 Randall, Blanchard (1902).....200 Chamber of Commerce Bldg.
 Randall, Miss Emily B. (1938).....8 W. Mt. Vernon Pl.
 Rawls, William Lee (1938).....Maryland Trust Bldg.
 Reckord, Milton A. (Adjutant Gen-
 eral) (1939).....} 11 E. Chase St.
 Requardt, John M. (1926).....}
 Requardt, Mrs. John M. (1926).....} 101 Wendover Rd.
 Revell, Edward J. W. (1916).....1308-09 Fidelity Bldg.
 Rice, Duane Ridgely (1938).....306 Highfield Rd.
 Rich, Edward N. (1916).....Union Trust Building
 Rich, Mrs. Edward L. (1926).....Catonsville, Md.
 Ricker, Mrs. Roger R. (1927).....3011 Wayne Ave.
 Riddell, Mrs. Richard (1940).....Ruxton Rd., Ruxton, Md.
 Ridgely, Miss Eliza (1893).....825 Park Ave.
 Ridgely, John, Jr. (1916).....Towson, Md.
 Riely, Mrs. Compton (1934).....2207 St. Paul St.
 Rieman, Mrs. Charles Ellet (1909)....10 E. Mt. Vernon Place
 Rieman, Charles Ellet (1898).....10 E. Mt. Vernon Place
 Riggs, Miss Annie Smith (1934).....Brookeville, Md.
 Riggs, Henry G. (1937).....814 Cathedral St.
 Riggs, John Beverley (1936).....Brookeville, Md.
 Riggs, Lawrason (1894).....632 Equitable Building
 Riordan, William A. (1938).....Washington Apts.
 Roach, Erwin R. (1934).....611 Park Ave.
 Roberts, Thomas Carroll (1939).....3012 Reistertown Rd.
 Robertson, David A. (1936).....2229 N. Charles St.
 Robertson, Geo. S. (1921).....Park Bank Building
 *Robertson, James A. (1936).....Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.
 Robertson, Mrs. John C.
 (Edith Harlan Reed) (1938)....} 79 Shipwright St., Annapolis, Md.
 Robinson, J. Ben, D. D. S., (1928)....Medical Arts Bldg.
 Robinson, Ralph (1894).....Maryland Trust Bldg.
 Robinson, Ralph J. (1934).....2303 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
 Rodgers, Maurice Falconer (1937)....505 Orkney Rd.
 Rogers, Miss Maria R. (1936).....Pikesville, Md.

Rogers, Mrs. Wm. F. (1927)	5308 Stonington Ave., Howard Park
Rohrer, C. W. G., M. D. (1910)	2814 Ailsa Ave.
Rose, Douglas H. (1898)	10 South St.
Rose, Douglas H., 2d (1940)	Fidelity Trust Co.
Rose, R. Contee (1935)	301 Oakdale Rd.
Rouse, John G. (1928)	Md. Casualty Co.
Rouzer, E. McClure (1920)	Calvert Bldg.
Rowe, Miss Georgia M. (1925)	2321 N. Calvert St.
Rowland, Samuel C. (1923)	Calvert Bldg.
Ruark, Elmer F. (1939)	{ Pres. Wicomico Historical Society, Salisbury, Md.
Rumsey, Charles L., M. D. (1919)	812 Park Ave.
Ryan, Timothy J., Jr. (1938)	1825 E. Baltimore St.
Sadtler, Miss Florence P. (1925)	2605 N. Charles St.
Sanger, Mrs. Frank Dyer (1939)	Ruxton, Md.
Sappington, Mrs. Edith M. (1937)	2931 N. Calvert St.
Sattler, Mrs. Augustus Edmund (1937)	{ 3904 St. Paul St.
Scarff, John Henry (1939)	Keyser Bldg.
Scarlett, Charles E., Jr. (1937)	2901 St. Paul St.
Schoenfield, Mrs. Frederick (Virginia Berkley Bowie) (1928)	{ Middletown Airport, Middletown, Pa.
Scholtz, Karl A. M. (1937)	334 St. Paul St.
Scott, Miss Dorothy McIlvain (1937)	Warrington Apts.
Scott, James W. (1935)	213 W. Monument St.
Scott, Mrs. T. Quincy (1937)	Warrington Apts.
Scott, Mrs. William Dodds (1929) (Katherine Fairfax Kimberly)	{ 3908 Hadley Square
Sealock, Richard B. (1940)	3819 Penhurst Ave.
Seeman, Frederick C. (1919)	110 Hopkins Place
Seitz, Mrs. S. Clayton (1934)	Towson, Md.
Selden, Albert A. (1935)	3137 N. Calvert St.
Selfe, Mrs. Lee Webster (1934)	Salisbury, Md.
Semmes, Miss Frances C. (1929)	222 W. Lanvale St.
Semmes, John E., Jr. (1916)	First National Bank Bldg.
Semmes, Raphael (1923)	Latrobe Apts.
Severn, Edwin F. (1936)	55 Oregon Ave., Halethorpe, Md.
Shackelford, Wm. T. (1926)	Earl Court Apts.
Shamer, Maurice Emory (1924)	3300 W. North Ave.
Shannahan, E. McNeal (1936)	Easton, Md.
Shaw, John K., Jr. (1927)	Eccleston Station, Md.
Shepherd, Major Tryon Mason U. S. A. (1939)	{ Westminster, Md.
Sherwood, Donald H. (1939)	Box 1604, Baltimore, Md.
Sherwood, John W. (1939)	Baltimore Trust Bldg.
Sherwood, Watson E. (1931)	2818 St. Paul St.
Shipley, Arthur M. (1935)	507 Edgevale Rd.
Shipley, George (1924)	Fairhaven, Easton, Md.
Shipley, Mrs. Marvin R. (1927)	Harman's, Md.
Shoemaker, Mrs. Edward (1919)	1031 N. Calvert St.
Showacre, Miss Elizabeth B. (1932)	4105 Liberty Heights Ave.
Shreve, Levin Gale (1938)	127 W. Lanvale St.
*Shriver, Alfred Jenkins (1921)	University Club
Shriver, Mrs. Edward Jenkins (1936)	205 Ridgewood Rd.
Shriver, George M. (1935)	Old Court Rd.
Shure, Austin F. (1932)	3531 Wabash Ave.
Sill, Mrs. Howard (1928)	1203 St. Paul St.
Simpson, Mrs. Edward (1935)	1528 Bolton St.
Sioussat, Mrs. Annie Leakin (1891)	1000 N. Charles St.
Skeen, John H. (1927)	First National Bank Bldg.

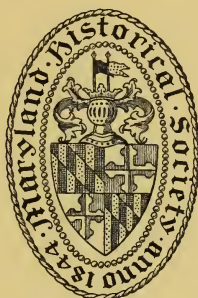
* Deceased.

- Skinner, M. E. (1897).....1103 Fidelity Bldg.
 Skirven, Percy G. (1914).....422 Chapelgate Rd., Ten Hills
 Slack, Dr. & Mrs. Harry R., Jr. (1938) ..8 Bishop's Rd.
 Slagle, A. Russell (1937).....4803 Roland Ave.
 Slemmer, Mrs. Martha Kemp (1938)...."Kembire," Frederick, Md.
 Slingluff, Jesse (1936).....Md. Trust Bldg.
 Sloan, Miss Anne M. (1924).....Lonaconing, Md.
 Slocum, Mrs. Geo. Washington (1925)....4100 N. Charles St.
 Smith, Miss Grace Vernon (1940).....Ridgely, Md.
 Smith, Mrs. Henry Edmond (1923).....Blandair, Ellicott City, Md.
 Smith, Henry Lee, M. D. (1931).....4313 St. Paul St.
 Smith, Mrs. James S. (1928).....Annapolis Blvd., Brooklyn, Md.
 Smith, R. Manson (1937).....c/o Mercantile Trust Co.
 Smith, R. Marsden (1939).....110 Upnor Rd.
 Smith, Mrs. Tunstall (1935).....Preston Apts.
 Smith, Winford H., M. D. (1939).....Johns Hopkins Hospital
 Snow, Mrs. Henry (Maud Birnie }
 Cary) (1925).....} 4824 Roland Avenue
 Sollers, Basil (1933).....605 Lennox St.
 Solter, George A. (1925).....Court House, City
 Soper, Hon. Morris A. (1917).....102 W. 39th St.
 Speer, J. Ramsey (1931).....Trappe, Talbot Co., Md.
 Spencer, Miss Eleanor Patterson (1936) ..Goucher College
 Spilker, Miss Julia E. (1933).....Northway Apts.
 Sprigg, James Cresap (1932).....Allston Apts.
 Stamp, Miss Adele Hagner (1929).....Univ. of Maryland, College Park, Md.
 Stanford, John Harwood (1937).....Munsey Bldg.
 Stanley, John S. (1936).....First National Bank Bldg.
 Stanley, William (1938).....Laurel, Md.
 Stanton, Hon. Robert F. (1937) }
 Stanton, Mrs. Robert F. (1937)....} 853 University Pkwy. W.
 Steele, Miss Rosa (1925).....3809 N. Charles St.
 Stein, Chas. F. (1905).....S. E. Cor. Courtland & Saratoga Sts.
 Stettinius, Mrs. Wm. C. (1929).....500 Somerset Rd.
 Stewart, Lamar Hollyday (1928).....1311 John Street
 Steuart, Richard D. (1919).....703 W. University Pkwy.
 Steuart, Miss Susan Elliott (1929).....5709 Roland Ave.
 Stick, Mrs. Gordon M. F. (Anna }
 Howard Fitchett) (1930).....} Glenarm, Maryland
 Stieff, Gideon N. (1939).....Wyman Park Driveway
 Stoll, Mrs. Conrad (1926).....Brooklyn, Md.
 Stork, Wm. B., Lt. U. S. Navy, Ret. }
 (1928)} 3923 Canterbury Rd.
 Storm, William M. (1926).....Frederick, Md.
 Stow, John Carroll (1933).....4001 N. Charles St.
 Stran, Mrs. Thomas P. }
 (Caroline S. Bansemer) (1929)....} Ambassador Apts.
 Straus, Isaac Lobe (1935).....Brooklandville, Md.
 Stritehoff, Nelson H. (1937).....700 Northern Parkway
 Strong, Gordon (1936).....Sugar Loaf Mountain, Dickerson Sta., Md.
 Stuart, Miss Sarah Elizabeth (1915)....Chestertown, Md.
 Stump, John B. (1937).....Bel Air, Md.
 Sullivan, Mrs. Felix R., Jr. (1922).....1605 Park Ave.
 Sullivan, Mrs. Mark (1939).....2437 Pickwick Rd.
 Summers, Clinton (1916).....1 Bedford Place
 Swain, Robert L., M. D. (1936).....3507 Edgewood Rd.
 Swann, Don (1935).....879 Park Ave.
 Sweeny, Mrs. Louis F. (1919).....2844 N. Calvert St.
 Symington, Mrs. Donald (1938).....Darlington, Md.
 Symington, John F. (1924).....1407 Philpot St.
 Tabler, Dr. H. E. (1926).....Box 2, Hancock, Md.
 Taylor, Mrs. Clarence M. (1930).....Linthicum Heights

Thom, Mrs. Mary W. (1919).....	Warrington Apts.
Thomas, Mrs. Douglas (Catherine Bowie Clagett) (1925).....	2739 N. Calvert St.
Thomas, Mrs. Harvey C. (1914).....	Wyman Park Apts.
Thomas, Henry M., M.D. (1940).....	1201 N. Calvert St.
Thomas, Mrs. James Walter (1935).....	Cumberland, Md.
*Thomas, Richard Henry.....	3448 Gilman Terrace
Thomas, Mrs. William H. (1940).....	Westminster, Md.
Thomas, William S. (1915).....	211 N. Calvert St.
*Thompson, Richard Hardesty (1937)....	Maryland Club
Tiffany, Herbert T. (1919).....	Severn Apts.
Tilghman, Lt. Col. Harrison (1917)....	Foxley Hall, Easton, Md.
Tilghman, J. Donnell (1928).....	Easton, Md.
Tilghman, Mrs. William H. (Irma B.) (1934).....	Salisbury, Md.
Tipton, L. Wylie (1937).....	2350 Eutaw Place
Tolley, Oscar Kemp (1938).....	Corbett, Md.
Torrence, Robert M. (1933).....	110 Edgevale Rd.
Torrence, Mrs. Robert M. (1934).....	110 Edgevale Rd.
Tracy, Arthur G. (1933).....	Hampstead, Md.
Treide, Henry E. (1922).....	4201 St. Paul St.
Trimble, I. Ridgeway, M.D. (1939)....	8 W. Madison St.
Tubman, Mrs. Samuel A. (1921).....	2808 N. Calvert St.
Tucker, Mrs. Clarence A. (1922).....	Sudbrook Park
Turnbull, Miss Anne Graeme (1919)....	1623 Park Ave.
Turner, Mrs. J. Frank (1926).....	Cecil Apartments
Turner, Mrs. Mary Ellis (1940).....	Calvert Court Apts.
Tyson, A. M. (1895).....	207 N. Calvert St.
Valentine, Miss Katherine (1928).....	1120 N. Calvert St.
Van Bibber, Miss Lena Chew (1923)....	Preston Apts.
Van Hollen, Donald B. (1925).....	Cedarcroft & Hillen Rds., Cedarcroft
Veitch, Dr. Fletcher P. (1926).....	College Park, Md.
Veitch, Mrs. Laura B. (1926).....	
Vest, Dr. Cecil W. (1923).....	1014 St. Paul St.
Vickery, Miss Mabel R. (1937).....	Earl Court Apts.
Vickery, Stephen G. (1925).....	Earl Court Apts.
*Vincent, John M., Ph. D. (1894).....	406 Holliston Ave., Pasadena, Calif.
Vincenti, Mrs. Rudolph (1939).....	3701 N. Charles St.
Von der Horst, Miss Louise (1928).....	747 W. North Ave.
Walker, Henry M. (1933).....	2927 N. Calvert St.
Wallace, Chas. C. (1915).....	804 Union Trust Building
Wallace, Frank T. (1936).....	11 E. Saratoga St.
Walters, Miss Estelle S. (1938).....	2819 N. Calvert St.
Ward, Mrs. Clemson H. (1938).....	4511 Roland Ave.
Ward, Miss Elizabeth (1933).....	1514 Park Ave.
Ward, Mrs. Joseph S. (1936).....	14 E. Franklin St.
Warfield, Edwin, Jr. (1914).....	"Oakdale," Sykesville, Md.
Warfield, Henry M. (1937).....	Timonium, Md.
Waring, Col. J. M. S. (1933).....	277 Park Ave., New York City
Waters, J. Seymour T. (1902).....	601 Calvert Building
Waters, Miss Mary E. (1916).....	{ c/o English Speaking Union, Rockefeller Centre, New York City
Watkins, Ira D. (1939).....	Mount Airy, Md.
Watson, Mark Skinner (1938).....	1 Merryman Court
Webb, Miss Celeste (1930).....	9 Wendover Rd.
Webb-Peploe, Mrs. Laura Hammond (1922).....	3927 Canterbury Rd.
Webber, Charles R. (1920).....	B. and O. Building
Weiskittel, Harry C. (1938).....	3022 St. Paul St.
Weld, Mrs. Charles R. (1937).....	119 W. Franklin St.

- Welsh, Mrs. Robert A. (1916).....Millersville, A. A. Co., Md.
 Wetherall, Wm. G. (1924).....317 W. President St.
 Whedbee, James S. (1927).....Maryland Life Insurance Bldg.
 Wheeler, Elliott (1935)....."Canterbury," Easton, Md.
 Wheeler, Joseph L. (1927).....Enoch Pratt Free Library
 Wheeler, H. Lawrence (1935).....2910 Hollins Ferry Road
 Whitcraft, Franklin P., Jr. (1937).....Lutherville, Md.
 White, Charles Hoover (1923).....Rolling Road, Relay, Md.
 White, Mrs. George Howard, Jr. (1920).....Upperville, Va.
 White, Mrs. John Odenheimer (1937).....Sudbrook Park, Md.
 *Whiteley, Mrs. James G. (1931).....223 W. Lanvale St.
 Whitfield, Dr. Theodore M. (1938).....Western Maryland College, Westminster, Md.
 Whitham, Lloyd B., M. D. (1923).....Towson, Md.
 Whitridge, William (1919).....Garrett Bldg.
 Wickes, Col. Joseph L. (1923).....
 { c/o Public Service Commission,
 { Munsey Building
 Wicks, Mrs. Walter (1928).....
 Wickes, Walter (1928).....} ..Brooklandville, Md.
 Wiegand, Henry H. (1923).....4614 Roland Ave.
 Wild, Mrs. Michael B. (1922).....928 Cathedral St.
 Wilkinson, A. L., M. D. (1923).....Raspeburg, Baltimore, Md.
 Wilkinson, Charles M. (1933).....638 W. North Ave.
 Willard, Daniel (1913).....B. & O. Building
 Willard, Miss Jessie C (1931).....3907 Greenway
 Willard, Samuel L. (1937).....3907 Greenway
 Williams, E. A. (1920).....1430 John St.
 Williams, Miss Elizabeth Chew (1916).....108 W. 39th St.
 Williams, Mrs. Huntington (Mary }
 Camilla McKim) (1937).....} 620 W. Belvedere Ave.
 Williams, Mrs. N. Winslow.....4112 Greenway
 Williams, Roger B. (1928).....3209 N. Charles St.
 Willson, Mrs. Notley (Mary R. }
 Camp) (1917).....} Rock Hall, Md.
 Wilson, Mrs. John Glover (1937).....325 Tuscany Rd.
 Wilson, Mrs. Marshall (1939).....Hagerstown, Md.
 Wilson, Miss Virginia A. (1926).....Northway Apts.
 Winchester, Marshall (1902).....21 W. Chase St.
 *Winder, Edward Lloyd (1927).....Easton, Md.
 Winebrenner, David C. (1939).....Frederick, Md.
 Wirgman, Harold F., Lt. Col. U. S. }
 M. C., Ret. (1936).....} Annapolis Club, Annapolis, Md.
 Wood, Frederick Wm. (1926).....
 Wood, Mrs. Frederick Wm. (1926).....} 2429 Keyworth Ave.
 Woodcock, Gen. Amos W. W. (1939).....Salisbury, Md.
 Wootton, William H. (1939).....101 E. Redwood St.
 Worthington, Edward L. (1924).....3504 Clifton Ave.
 Worthington, Ellicott H. (1917).....1531 Bolton St.
 Worthington, Lt. Leland Griffith (1935).....Berwyn, Md.
 *Wright, Philemon K. (1929).....Easton, Md.
 Wright, W. H. DeCoursey (1921).....Monkton, Md.
 Wright, Maj. Wm. Burnett (1936).....806 W. University Pkwy.
 Wroth, Lawrence C. (1909).....John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.
 Wroth, Peregrine, Jr., M. D. (1921).....Hagerstown, Md.
 Wyckoff, Vertrees J. (1937).....Univ. of Maryland, College Park, Md.
 Young, Andrew J., Jr. (1916).....34 Central Savings Bank Bldg.
 Young, Mrs. Henry S. (1939).....106 Bridge St., Elkton, Md.
 Young, Hugh Hampton, M. D. (1934).....Cold Spring Lane
 Zimmerman, Louis S. (1939).....Severna Park, Md.
 Zimmermann, Charles W. (1929).....1922 W. Baltimore St.
 Zink, Mrs. George Conrad (1936).....2344 Edmondson Ave.
 Zoller, Mrs. Henry., Jr. (1938).....11 Charlote Place

The Maryland Historical Magazine



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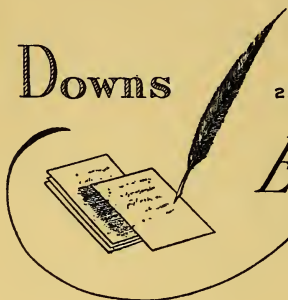
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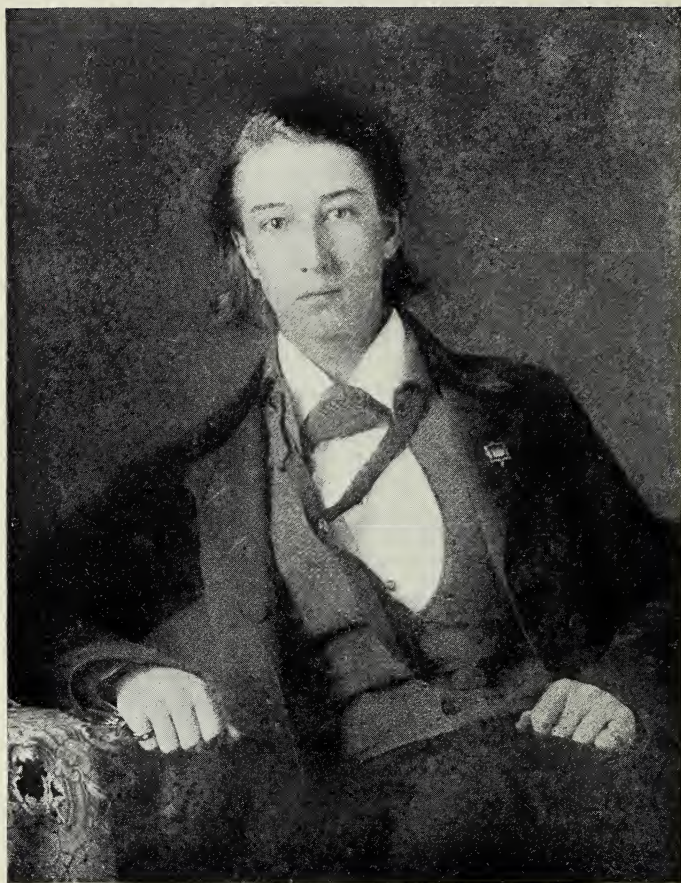
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The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1843, has been engaged in collecting, preserving and disseminating information relating to the history of the State. Through its services to scholars and others in making available collections of research materials, and through its publications, the Society has occupied and always should occupy an important place in the cultural life of Maryland.

Since 1906 the Society has published *The Maryland Historical Magazine*. There are monthly meetings from September to May, inclusive, at which addresses of a historical or literary nature are given. Those interested in the objects of the Society are invited to have their names proposed for membership. The annual dues are \$5.00, life membership \$100.00. Subscription to *The Maryland Historical Magazine* is included in the membership fee of five dollars, as well as the use of the Society's collections and admission to the monthly lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open on every day of the week except Sundays.

The Society depends on the people of Maryland and its friends elsewhere for its maintenance. The gift of documents and books and donations or bequests to the endowment fund, have made it possible to build up a notable historical library. The collections include not only manuscripts dealing with the social, political and military history of the State, but also letters, diaries, business accounts, maps, newspapers, pamphlets, prints and photographs. Only by a continuance of interest in the Society will it be possible to preserve and catalogue its present collections and, of equal importance, to acquire new documents recording the rich history of the people of Maryland. In short, the usefulness of the Maryland Historical Society depends not only upon the number of its members, but upon their generosity as well.

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SIDNEY LANIER

From an ambrotype made in 1857

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SIDNEY LANIER, "FAMILIAR CITIZEN OF THE TOWN"

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I

In the preface to his first book, *Tiger Lilies*, a novel of his own experiences in the Civil War, Sidney Lanier said that "A man has seventy years in which to explain his life . . ."

The Georgia veteran was in his early twenties when he wrote that. Even so young, he had mapped out a long career in music, literature and scholarship. He had chosen to devote himself to an "art life." Earnestness and enthusiasm were boundless. There was a Huguenot buoyancy of spirit about him. But the tragedy of his life is that he lived scarcely more than half the seventy years he had allotted, for he was dead at 39.

Yet in that short life-span he created such a personality in character, in poetry, in music, in scholarship, in family devotion, in friendships, in fortitude, that the accomplishment constitutes him a sort of genius in humanity, in social quality, as distinguished merely from his genius as poet.

He won a place among the nine great, or "elder," American poets who were, in the order of their chronological appearance in American letters, Bryant, Poe, Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, Lowell, Whitman and Lanier.² But since his literary accomplishment is so closely interwoven with his love for music, a musical

¹ This article has been prepared in large part from talks recently made by Mr. Short before meetings of the Woman's Literary Club of Baltimore, The Baltimore Music Club, the Woman's Club of Govans and the Maryland Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy. Quotations from the *Poems of Sidney Lanier* are made with the permission of Charles Scribner's Sons.

² See *The Chief American Poets*, ed. by Curtis Hidden Page, Houghton, Mifflin Company, first published in 1905 and still widely used as anthology and text in colleges.

comparison is essential to reach an estimate, in a general way, of his position in those fields of national art.

It may be said, for instance, that he was the foremost musician in American literature and the foremost literary figure in American music. But he was not a mere "Dixie singer," nor a competitor in the field of romanticism or balladry which has been almost pre-empted by the genius of Stephen Collins Foster. If Whitman's "Leaves of Grass" and Longfellow's "Hiawatha" are regarded as grand operas, Poe's "Raven" as a tone poem, Whittier's "Barbara Frietchie" as a march or martial music; and if other poems are classed as hymns, ballads or dances, then it may be said that Lanier wrote the *symphonies* of American literature.

He usually took a static idea or theme and developed it. He chose sunrise, corn, marshes, freedom, trade. They were just plain subjects,—still life, so to speak,—not scenes, nor stories, nor historic events. These themes he developed into musical words and concepts. He developed them into majesties of thought and with expressions of language that at times reach sublimity.

It is a most difficult type of poetry, for the poet is not aided by any accompanying plot or picture, whether sad or gay. It calls for sheer, unaided artistry. If there *were* any accompaniment, Lanier seemed to supply it himself, in much the same way as had caused old white-bearded Herr Thielepape, the orchestra leading ex-mayor of San Antonio, Texas, to exclaim, amidst a torrent of *bravos* after Lanier had played, "that he hat never heert de flude accompany itself pefore!"

Just as symphonies are not so widely known and hummed, so, too, Lanier is the least generally known of the major American poets. This is not entirely strange, for not only has America proceeded slowly to the final estimates of her giants in art, but, more specifically, the poetry of Lanier, from its very nature and content, could hardly be classed as of the so-called "popular kind." It is not particularly romantic or spectacular. Its structure is at times complicated. Lanier distilled thoughts as well as words. He seems to have foregone popularity for more individualistic, more stylistic expression. Thus, he became unique, although not remote. Lanier appeals to an increasingly widening audience by about the same process of artistic selection as that which impels many sensitive music lovers, growing older and wiser, more discriminating, less satisfied with brilliant instrumental solos and arias and obvious musical forms, to turn for their ultimate, highest pleasure to the symphonies.

There are other factors which have retarded somewhat the general

acclaim of Lanier. Some of these have not been fully weighed by critics and writers making estimates of the poet. Briefly, they are:

He was a Southerner during a period of crisis: the Civil War.

His poetry came during the period of reconstruction when Americans were more occupied with economics than with poetry.

He died young: he was not a white-bearded Greek god—a national figure—like Longfellow and Whitman: there was no Lanier legend.

He followed just on the heels of the great, prolific New England School whose work followed an accepted pattern. Lanier was new, somewhat unorthodox.

He was ill and poor during the whole of the period of his productivity, and was not able to make many helpful acquaintances and associations.

His work was necessarily hurried, in part unfinished: he fully realized that he was running "a race with eternity."

He wrote no poetic "best sellers," like "The Village Blacksmith" or "Paul Revere's Ride," obvious little pieces which could fix in the school-child mind and then carry on to settled acceptance in later life.

Yet, despite all drawbacks, the judgments of time and of critical study have awarded him a very conspicuous place in the American scene. He is an exceptional figure,—a "rarer" genius who represents the harmony of poetry and music and gracious personality. For

His song was only living aloud,
His work, a singing with his hand! ³

* II

The biography of Lanier falls readily into two parts, the War Years ⁴ and the Baltimore Decade. Just as easily, the division might be made between the two States, Georgia and Maryland, which claim him, for the War Years period includes not only his service as Confederate soldier from his native state, but also the few years of Claude Bowers's "tragic era" of reconstruction that Lanier spent in the homeland yearning to go away in search of more congenial, more responsive atmosphere. Not that Lanier disliked "the South,"—not at all! By nativity, inspirationally (Glynn, Chattahoochee), traditionally, patriotically, he was of Georgia.

³ The poet's widow at first selected this quotation from Lanier's "Life and Song" as appropriate for his tombstone.

⁴ Dr. Garland Greever, of the University of Southern California, is now engaged in writing a book tentatively entitled *Troubadours in Gray*, with the sub-title, *The War Years of Sidney and Clifford Lanier*.

But, for some time at least, the aftermath of war had suspended there all possibilities for the devotion of his career to the pursuits of music, literature and scholarship. And, because of these circumstances, Lanier matured in Baltimore. In the words of Governor O'Connor:

Sidney Lanier is a Marylander by a particularly binding tie. You have heard the old saying that one difference between our relatives and our friends is that we have a choice in regard to the latter. Well, Lanier does not belong to us by birth and blood; but he very strongly does become a Marylander by affection and adoption. . . . I have no better way of closing these remarks than by quoting four lines of verse written by a living Baltimore poet as a tribute to Sidney Lanier:

And, ah, it haunts me just to know
His feet along these streets did go . . .
A haloed man—who also trod
The clouds around the throne of God.⁵

Lanier was born in Macon, February 3, 1842.⁶ His father, Robert Sampson Lanier, a fairly prosperous *ante bellum* lawyer there, was of French-English origin. His mother, Mary Anderson, was of Scots-Irish descent.

Family tradition and some research establish evidences of descent from Laniers who had been professional musicians as far back as the 16th and 17th centuries. Andrea and Clement had appointments as flute players in the English Royal Orchestra. James played the flute at the burial of Queen Elizabeth. Thomas was commissioned to play "upon the flutes and cornets, . . . amongst the lutes or voice in ordinary," and Nicholas had distinguished service not only as performer but as composer and instructor under Charles I and Charles II.

It was, therefore, quite to be expected that slender, gray-eyed young Sidney Lanier, of Macon, "could play passably on several instruments before I could write legibly."⁷ In his teens, he entered the old staunchly Presbyterian Oglethorpe University, near Milledgeville, Ga., where, in his room, he alternately played the flute and studied according to the plan proposed by his most stimulating pro-

⁵ Address of Governor Herbert R. O'Connor, of Maryland, "Sidney Lanier Commemoration Day" exercises, Peabody Institute, Baltimore, February 3, 1940. The verse quoted is from the poem "Lanier Walked Here!" by Folger McKinsey, "The Bentz-town Bard," in the *Baltimore Sun*, October 20, 1918. The poem was especially inscribed by "The Bard" to the author of this article, and sent to him while he was stationed in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg as an officer in the American Expeditionary Force during World War I.

⁶ Plans are now being discussed for a national Lanier Centennial observance in 1942.

⁷ At various times during his life Lanier played upon the banjo, guitar, flute, piano, organ and violin.

fessor, James Woodrow, the brother of the mother of President Wilson.⁸ Lanier's love of music was plainly hereditary, and it is curiously specific that his chosen instrument was the flute of his forbears. But his devotion to scholarship and research dates from the contact with President Wilson's uncle. Many years later, after Lanier had achieved success, he wrote of his college instructor: "I am more indebted to Dr. Woodrow than to any living man, for shaping my mental attitude toward nature and life. His spirit and method had a formative influence on my thought and fancy in all my literary work." It is interesting to know, too, that the President came to know and to admire Lanier through the enthusiasm of his wife, Mrs. Ellen Axson Wilson.

Graduating at the top of his class, Lanier was appointed tutor. Professor Woodrow continued shaping his thoughts, and Lanier was planning for studies abroad, particularly at the German universities. Just at this period, he was contemplating for his bread-winning vocation a professorship in an American university. Literature and music were to be his avocations. But:

The early spring of 1861 brought to bloom, besides innumerable violets and jessamines, a strange, enormous, and terrible flower.

This was the blood-red flower of war, . . . whose freshening dew is blood and hot tears, whose shadow chills a land, whose odors strangle a people, whose giant petals droop downward, and whose roots are in hell.⁹

Being then 19 years old, Lanier enlisted, as did almost everyone else connected with Oglethorpe University, in the Confederate Army. With him in the Macon Volunteers of the Second Georgia Battalion went his brother Clifford, then 17. Sidney could have taken higher rank than private, for he knew the drills; but he wanted to be with Clifford, who was also musical and literary, and for whom he always had a loyal brother-like affection. Until 1864 they saw action together. Years later, Clifford, in a sonnet, wrote that never would he forget how during the war Sidney's bright, serene, resolute spirit had cheered "my ever drooping forces."

⁸ Professor Woodrow, born in England the son of a clergyman, came to Ohio as a child. He studied at Harvard under Agassiz and received his Ph. D., *magna cum laude*, from Heidelberg. Although at Oglethorpe he was professor of natural sciences, he seems by some extra-curricular influence to have inspired young Lanier with a love for British tradition and chivalry and for German scholarship. Later Woodrow was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry and became professor of theology. During the days of Darwinian controversy he maintained that there could be satisfactory reconciliation of science and religion. Prof. Woodrow was chief of the Confederate chemical laboratory, at Columbia, S. C., during the Civil War. Later he became president of the University of South Carolina. He died in 1907.

⁹ *Tiger Lilies*, Book II, chapter I.

When the brothers were separated, Sidney became signal officer on a blockade runner. He was captured by the Northern forces and made a prisoner of war at the so-called "bull pen" prison at Point Lookout, Maryland, where the Potomac River meets the Chesapeake Bay.

It was a dreary, desolate experience for the young tutor of poetic temperament, but Lanier had managed to keep hidden about him his flute and a \$20-goldpiece. In the long days of confinement he dreamt of a novel which would tell of his experiences, and for relaxation played the flute.

In the "bull pen" he met a young Virginian, John Banister Tabb, who later was to live in Maryland and become a poet of distinction. Companionship with Tabb helped make prison life endurable, and the two became fast friends. Father Tabb's poems of a later date were among the first of many tributes in verse which Lanier was to receive. And Father Tabb also carried in his memory a tune which Lanier had so often played on his flute in the prison camp. It was a sad, contemplative air. Years later, its haunting appeal never having left him, Father Tabb taught the tune to Edwin Litchfield Turnbull who preserved it by publishing it as "A Melody from Lanier's Flute."¹⁰

But that winter in prison (1864-65) on bleak, wearying, misty-blue cheerless sands was fatal to Lanier. Rations were scant and scarcely edible. Spirits were low. The Four Horsemen rode there, too: and one struck Lanier. He was Pestilence. Lanier fell victim to tuberculosis. Young, ambitious as he was, this was the beginning of the end.

At length, he was released. "Emancipated to a skeleton, down-hearted for want of news from home, down-headed for weariness," he boarded a boat to go down the Chesapeake Bay to City Point, Virginia. But while aboard he collapsed. By an almost unbelievable circumstance, an old friend and her little daughter were also on the boat. They had a kit of medicines which had been given to them in New York. Because of the possession of this kit, when they heard that a soldier was sick, they wanted to go below to help if they could.

The soldier they found wrapped in an old, soiled quilt, his hands tightly clenched, his eyes fixed, his body shivering. The girl recognized him at once: yet she could scarcely believe her eyes.

"Brother Sid! Don't you know me?" she called out, kneeling at his side.

¹⁰ Breitkopf & Härtel, New York, 1905. The late Mr. Turnbull, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Turnbull, was the founder and conductor of the Johns Hopkins Symphony Orchestra.

She was Ella Montgomery, of Montgomery, Alabama, whose family knew Lanier. When Sidney saw her face, he asked:

"Is this Heaven?"

Little Miss Ella, who was really quite a child at the time, and her mother got Lanier fresh blankets, doctored him with quinine and brandy, and took him to a boatstove where they fed him hot soup. A little after midnight he called for his flute and commenced playing. The other released prisoners below heard the familiar strains: they yelled for joy, for they knew their comrade was restored.

This incident is related in detail because, of all of the personal anecdotes of Lanier that have been told, it seems the most characteristic, the most prophetic.

No matter what hindrances came in later life, no matter what the odds against him, he was forever putting them aside and going forward. He strove continuously against want and illness, for there was little to hearten and to sustain him in that drab decade following the war. He just called for his flute and commenced playing. He lived a sad life happily.

After he had returned home, which he did by walking and "hitch-hiking" (in those days, by farm team and ex-cavalry horses) across Virginia and North and South Carolina to Macon, for the \$20-goldpiece could not buy him a ticket on trains which were not running, he composed words and music for a song for Miss Montgomery. Called "Little Ella," the song proved popular when he played it for friends. So he had it published, and this was the first time his name appeared as author and composer. Copies are very rare indeed—they are now prized collectors' items.¹¹

Lanier had indeed been deeply scarred in body by the war; but in mind the experience was not so much a shock to his sensitivity as a tempering to withstand hardships to come. He wrote to Father Tabb: "I can look at the most wretched beggar on the streets and say 'I have been in worse case than that man.'"¹²

Better still, Lanier had not been left embittered. After Appomattox, the young Georgian found it within him to express poetically what General Grant was saying politically in "Let us have Peace!" Lanier wrote, at a time when feelings were still running high:

¹¹ "Little Ella" was recently "revived" in an arrangement for full orchestra, by Mr. Sidney L. Shapiro, at the "Sidney Lanier Commemoration Day" exercises, Peabody Institute, February 3, 1940. A frank, graceful, carefree melody of the type popular just after the Civil War, it is somewhat reminiscent of the work of Stephen Collins Foster who had not long been dead when Lanier composed the song.

¹² As one of the minor horrors of war Lanier said of his soldier's coat that "it afforded no protection to anything but the insects congregated in the seams of the same."

Heartstrong South would have his way,
Headstrong North hath said him nay:
O strong Heart, strong Brain, beware!

* * * * *

Heart and Brain! no more be twain;
Throb and think, one flesh again!

Shortly after Sidney arrived at Macon, Clifford, too, returned. There must have been a demonstrative reunion at the home-fire. And much music as well! But this happiness was shortlived, for Mary Anderson Lanier, their mother, died. She had fulfilled "the strong conviction" that she would remain alive until both sons came home from war. Great as was the blow, Sidney dared not give way, for Clifford and their only sister, Gertrude, looked up to him.

Oglethorpe University had foundered, so Lanier could not go back there. Between 1865 and 1868, he was variously occupied as tutor on a plantation near Macon; as night clerk in a hotel in Montgomery, Alabama,¹³ where guests with insomnia had the benefit of hearing strains from the office flute at intervals throughout the night; and as principal of a small academy at Prattville, Alabama. During these years, too, he wrote the earliest poems, the "juvenile" novel *Tiger Lilies*, made several trips for his health, and married Mary Day (1867), whom he had met in 1863 while home on furlough in Confederate gray.

Father Lanier saw no purpose in this sporadic activity, however, so he brought the literary and musical son back to Macon in 1868 and put Blackstone's *Commentaries* in his hand. At a desk in his father's office Sidney studied law with customary thoroughness. Admitted to the bar, he practised for several years, particularly concerning real estate transfers, mortgages and trust estates. Chancellor Walter B. Hill, of Macon, has said of him as lawyer:

I have had occasion to go over much work of that sort which he did, and I have been struck with its uniform correctness and carefulness. I never saw deeds better drawn than his.

But, no matter how correctly he may have striven to write these deeds, they were hopelessly uninteresting. Music and poetry kept tugging at his heart. He did not like the law; and he probably turned away from the long legal papers with blue backs and looked out of the office window for a day-dream vision of the favorite glen he knew about in the Smoky mountains. He'd better make up his mind about this perplexing conflict!

¹³ A modern hotel in Macon, Ga., today is called the "Sidney Lanier."

Up North there were large libraries, flourishing orchestras, brilliant "big names" among editors, musicians and professors; there were important concerts, magazines, plays and paintings, the mere thought of which completely fascinated him. Yes, the North was really *headstrong*! And he was *heartstrong* to be there. His scant equipment, when he set out, was an antiquated flute, a few poems, and open-eyed ambition.

III

The preface,—or prelude,—to the Baltimore Decade is written in Lanier's letter to his father from this city, arguing irrefutably the case of a son who *would* be a poet. Certainly, as an *apologia*, justifying the course he was about to follow, it would rank among the most persuasive ever written.

. . . how *can* I settle myself down to be a third-rate struggling lawyer for the balance of my little life? . . . My dear father, think how, for twenty years, through poverty, through pain, through weariness, through sickness, through the uncongenial atmosphere of a farcical college and of a bare army and then of an exacting business life, through all the discouragement of being wholly unacquainted with literary people and literary ways—I say, think how, in spite of all these depressing circumstances, . . . these two figures of music and of poetry have steadily kept in my heart so that I could not banish them. Does it not seem to you as to me, that I begin to have the right to enroll myself among the devotees of these two sublime arts, after having followed them so long and so humbly, and through so much bitterness?

Lanier had had New York in mind as the most favorable place in which to settle, and he was *en route* there on some business and for an exploratory visit when, in 1873, aged 31, he stopped off in Baltimore. And Baltimore may thank Asger Hamerik, the celebrated Director of the Peabody Conservatory of Music, that he remained here.

Hamerik was a brilliant young Dane, a man of taste, intellect and energy. He was just a year younger than Lanier. He had gone from his native Copenhagen to Italy, where at Milan, in 1870, his opera "La Vendetta" had been produced. So great were his ability and promise that, in 1871, he was called to Baltimore to be Director at the Peabody. He had been here only two years when Poet-Musician-errant Lanier came passing through. Hamerik was at the time planning for the old Peabody Symphony Orchestra, which, in the last century, was regarded as one of the finest in the country.

Lanier met Hamerik in the parlor of the home of Henry Clay Wysham,¹⁴ at 102 West Madison Street, a house which is still stand-

¹⁴ Lanier named one of his sons Henry Wysham Lanier.

ing. Wysham was a lawyer, but being also an amateur flautist he had great enthusiasm for Hamerik's plans for an orchestra.

Lanier played on his old flute one of his own compositions, "Field-Larks and Blackbirds," and Hamerik, a composer himself, was fascinated by the beauty of the piece, the remarkable agility and technique of the player, and the glowing personality of the man. Without any hesitancy at all, Hamerik offered Lanier the post as first flute in the proposed orchestra. Lanier at once and gladly accepted.

It was the rare ability of Hamerik, the pupil of von Bülow and Berlioz, to forejudge the unique gifts of Lanier that gave Baltimore another great poet to cherish, along with Poe and Lizette Woodworth Reese.¹⁵ For the orchestra was formed as planned, and Lanier became its *flauto primo*.

Three men who were not native Baltimoreans, Gilman, Lanier and Hamerik, did much to give Baltimore its cultural rebirth and fame in the era just following the Civil War. Such men as Pratt, Hopkins, Peabody and Sheppard paved the way with financial provisions, of course. But it sometimes seems that the city, in its progress and modernism, fails properly to heed and to value the three distinguished outlanders who in earlier years were such a stimulus and influence here.

Hamerik was a distinguished musician. He was with the Peabody for twenty-seven years (1871-1898), and he made it world famous. He wrote much fine music, and was knighted by the King of Denmark. His American-born wife became Lady Hamerik. Yet, today little is generally known or heard of him.

Competent critics have declared that Lanier was "one of the finest flautists in the world." The fact that he was entirely self-taught is an evidence of his intelligence and scholarship. He wanted to take lessons from some competent teacher who knew the history and larger possibilities of the flute, but lack of both time and funds prevented. Theodore Thomas, the distinguished musician and composer whose name is legend in American music, advised him to replace his antiquated instrument with a more up-to-date Boehm flute, and gave him encouraging praise. The happy young "professional" decided "to practice, practice, practice" until he should reach such perfection as could be attained all by himself.

Of course, his compensation both as member of the Peabody

¹⁵ Miss Reese wrote in her twenties a lament upon the death of Lanier called "The Lost Shepherd," which was published in *The Southern Bivouac*, January, 1887. This was one of the earliest tributes in poetry to Lanier. Later Miss Reese inscribed her book, *A Handful of Lavender*, "To the Sweet Memory of Sidney Lanier."

Orchestra and for playing in concerts elsewhere was very important; but he was also playing for the sheer joy it afforded as part of the art-life he had planned. Coming home from a performance at the old Concordia Theatre one night, he wrote to his wife:

I have just come from Venice . . . and have strolled home through the moonlight, singing serenades . . . I am full of gondellieds, of balconies with white arms leaning over the balustrades thereof, of gleaming waters, of lithe figures in black velvet, . . . of diamonds, daggers, desperadoes.

There were many musical appearances in Baltimore besides those at the Peabody. He played once in the Christmas music at St. Paul's Church; he inspired the local coloratura sopranos to their best flights of song with his deft accompanying *obligati*; and wrote such welcome and hopeful reports to his wife, still in Macon, as: "For this enclosed \$25 (and \$5 more which I have kept) I have played the first-flute parts in Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, the Ossian overture, [and] the staccato air of 'The Magic Flute'"

Acquaintances made among musical people were stimulating. Equally as much as the thrill of actual performance, he revelled in musical conversation and friendships with its devotees. In a letter he wrote: "Then, after the concert, Mr. Sutro¹⁶ and his wife invited Hamerik, Seifert (leader of the violins, just from Berlin), Wysham, and myself to take champagne with them at their rooms, where we sat until far in the morning, talking music."

Playing the flute brought him into the public eye: his performances were received with enthusiasm by audiences and newspapers. Of his playing, Hamerik wrote:

In his hands the flute no longer remained a mere material instrument, but was transformed into a voice that set heavenly harmonies into vibration. Its tones developed colors, warmth, and a low sweetness of unspeakable poetry . . . he would magnetize the listener. . . . I will never forget the impression he made on me when he played . . . his tall, handsome, manly presence, his flute breathing noble sorrows, noble joys, the orchestra softly responding. Such distinction, such refinement! He stood, the master, the genius!¹⁷

While the performance of music was Lanier's supremest joy, he did not, however, give overly serious attention to its composition, although there are some examples of his work in this field. The song, "Little Ella," has already been mentioned, as well as the flute solo,

¹⁶ Otto Sutro, Baltimore music publisher and merchant of music and instruments, in whose home and store were laid the early scenes of the famed Wednesday Club.

¹⁷ A radiant account of the musical atmosphere of Baltimore at this period is contained in the chapter called "A Poet's Musical Impressions" in *Letters of Sidney Lanier*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899.

"Field-Larks and Blackbirds," which he played for Hamerik to win the appointment in the Baltimore orchestra. Another graceful ballad of the post-Civil War period is "Love that hath us in the net," Lanier's musical setting for a song from Tennyson's poem, "The Miller's Daughter."

"Danse des Mouchérons," which Lanier humorously called "my gnat symphony," because like gnats it is very brief and airy, is a flute description of the flight of a swarm of gnats focused in a pillar of sunlight streaming through the woods. Lanier found that each gnat had his own little sphere and design of flight, although individually his activity fitted in agreeably with the flight of the swarm as a whole, "playing much the same part that a man does in the Great Plan of Life." This observation he sought to express musically.

Other Lanier music, most of which has never been published, includes "Wind Song," "Swamp Robin," "Sacred Memories," "Longing" and settings for the poems of others. There have, too, been many settings by other composers for the poems of Lanier which, in a sense, might be called "Lanier music." Notable among such settings are the musical versions of Lanier's "Evening Song" written by Henry Hadley and Dudley Buck, the two distinguished American composers, the latter having called his composition by the title of "Sunset." There is a manuscript full-length symphony by Gustav Strube¹⁸ called "The Lanier Symphony."

But music was by no means the sole occupation. Almost as soon as the connection with the orchestra had been made, Lanier realized that the facilities afforded by the then almost new Peabody Library would enable him to go along further with the studies begun under Professor Woodrow at Oglethorpe which had been suspended by war and the law years. In fact, the Peabody now became his Temple.

To supplement the income received from musical sources, he prepared courses of lectures. His subjects were the novel, Elizabethan poetry, Shakespeare and the musical aspects of poetry. Some of these lectures were given in the old upstairs hall at the Peabody Institute before small audiences of "a fashionable nature," and others in the parlor of the home of Mrs. Edgeworth Bird, who lived at 22 East Mt. Vernon Place. Such lectures, sometimes called "parlor classes," were quite popular in that decade, and evidence the fact of the city's cultural rebirth and stimulus.

Working on them, he spent many, many hours at the same table in the reading room of the library, and a legend now attaches to a chair

¹⁸ Professor of Composition at the Peabody Conservatory of Music.

and table there that are called Lanier's. When he was feeling indisposed, he sent notes to the staff; and, towards the end, his wife acted as his messenger.

Poetry, too, was claiming more and more of his attention, until ultimately it became the absorbing interest. Back in Georgia, at the age of 25, he had written a short poem called "Barnacles." He was quite sure that it was a sound one. He had written in it a maxim which, being now embarked on a career in Baltimore, he was resolved to follow:

. . . I strive ahead
 * * * * *
 I needs must hurry with the wind
 And trim me best for sailing.

Under the stimulus of such congenial work with the Baltimore orchestra, he shaped the most pretentious verse which he had yet attempted. Its theme was trade, and he caused the violins to state it in the opening three lines:

"O Trade! O Trade! would thou wert dead!
 The Time needs heart—'tis tired of head:
 We're all for love," the violins said.

Developing the theme, various other instruments,—the clarinet, flute, oboe, "the bold straightforward horn,"—sing out in turn against selfishness, hurry, trade, and argue for more art, more chivalry, more neighborliness. And in this symphony in verse there appeared distinct great hummable (quotable) melodies:

Never shalt thou the heavens see,
 Save as a little child thou be.

and

Man shall not live by bread alone
 But all that cometh from the Throne.

Called "The Symphony," it appeared,—a distilled labor of love almost, for the compensation was small,—in *Lippincott's Magazine*, in June, 1875. It was accepted as a work of distinction, and won for Lanier his first national acclaim. Bayard Taylor, then a favorite and established leader in critical literary circles, hailed him as "the country's newest poet." The poet-musician stood at the threshold of fame.

Just at this point in his Baltimore residence, Lanier went one evening to visit and to play music for a young lady of his acquaintance. In her Victorian parlor, on the table beneath the lamp, was a "young lady's album," or "table book," containing forty prepared questions

which young men visitors were called upon to answer. It was a very popular pastime in that *post-bellum* era, and few indeed were the gentlemen who were not implored to "reveal themselves" in this quite formal fashion.

Lanier obliged his hostess of that evening in 1874. Some of the questions he answered light-heartedly, some pathetically, all revealingly. Of course, overmuch importance should not be attached to all of the answers, as, for instance, those involving favorite characters in romance or favorite painters, for it is not unlikely that Lanier was leaning over the piano eating cake and drinking lemonade when he wrote the answers. There was undoubtedly an air of gayety about it all, and perhaps some music was playing. One could not, obviously, amid such surroundings, summon up considered judgments.

Here are the pages from the album:¹⁹

The Mental Photograph of

Mr. Sidney Lanier.

Your favorite—

- 1 *Color?* The opal grey which one sees on the horizon just after a gorgeous sunset.
- 2 *Flower?* Tube-rose
- 3 *Tree?* The Mimosa.
- 4 *Object in Nature?* A certain glen in the heart of the Smoky Mountains.
- 5 *Hour in the day?* The two twilights of morning and evening.
- 6 *Season of the year?* The last half of Spring & the first half of Summer.
- 7 *Perfume?* The combination of heliotrope & violet.
- 8 *Gem?* The Opal.
- 9 *Style of beauty?* Oval face, large grey eyes, slender figure.
- 10 *Names, male & female?* Clifford, Mary.
- 11 *Painters?* Raphael, Titian, Guido, Salvator Rosa, Ary Scheffer.
- 12 *Musicians?* Schumann, Wagner, Beethoven, Chopin.
- 13 *Piece of Sculpture?* A Mercury in the act of flying, artist unknown.
- 14 *Poets?* Shakspeare, Chaucer, Lucretius, Robert Browning.
- 15 *Poetesses?* Elizabeth Browning, George Eliot.
- 16 *Prose Authors?* Sir William Hamilton, Sir Thos. Browne, Carlyle, Richter.
- 17 *Character in Romance?* Equally fond of Chaucer's "Persone," Dumas's "Athos" and Scott's "Richard Coeur de Lion."
- 18 *Character in History?* Sir Philip Sidney.
- 19 *Book to take up for an hour?* "Hood's Own" or Dumas's "Three Guardsmen."
- 20 *What book (not religious) would you part with last?* My Chaucer.
- 21 *What epoch would you choose to have lived in?* The Present.

¹⁹ The questions and answers here quoted are from a copy given by the poet's widow to Mrs. Lawrence Turnbull, and now in the possession of Miss Eleanor Turnbull, of Baltimore.

- 22 *Where would you like to live?* Somewhere where lungs are not necessary to life.
- 23 *What is your favorite amusement?* To be on a springy horse, in a hilly country.
- 24 *What is your favorite occupation?* Teaching, either by poems, by music, or by lecture.
- 25 *What trait of character do you most admire in man?* Knightly magnanimity.
- 26 *What trait of character do you most admire in woman?* The power of implicitly trusting.
- 27 *What trait of character do you most detest in each?* The opposite of these: Little-ness and Suspicion.
- 28 *If not yourself, who would you rather be?* If I were not I, what choice could I have?
- 29 *What is your idea of happiness?* A table with pen, ink, & paper, under a big oak, in early summer—wife seated where I can see her every second. Three boys rolling on the grass, a mountain in the distance & a certainty that my article won't be declined.
- 30 *What is your idea of misery?* To find the flute too sharp for the oboe after we've commenced the *andante* of the Fifth Symphony.
- 31 *What is your *bête noir*?* A certain moustache hair that will get across the *embouchure* when I play for company.
- 32 *What is your dream?* To study the highest civilization of the world, i. e., of London.
- 33 *What is your favorite game?* Chess.
- 34 *What do you believe to be your outstanding characteristics?* Suppose you answer this question for me.
- 35 *If married, what do you believe to be the distinguishing characteristics of your better half?* A passionate love for art, a heavenly combination of romantic spirituality with practical judgment, and an intense desire to take all the suffering people of the world into her heart.
- 36 *What is the sublimest passion of which human nature is capable?* Necessarily Love, for it includes all other passions.
- 37 *What are the sweetest words in the world?* "My dear Sweetheart" (in the beginning of a certain lady's letter.)
- 38 *What are the saddest words?* "Vater rufe dein Kind zurück,"²⁰ in Thekla's Song.
- 39 *What is your aim in life?* "Aimer, toujours aimer, et toujours être aimé."
- 40 *What is your motto?* Ich dien.

²⁰ The line is from Schiller's "Wallenstein," and should read "Du Heilige," instead of "Vater."

After "The Symphony" had taken the name of the poet-musician of Baltimore out into the literary world, recognition and friendships became more frequent. In 1876, he was invited to write the words for a cantata to be sung at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, on a program for which Richard Wagner had "especially composed for the occasion" a "Centennial Inauguration March." The music for Lanier's Cantata was written by Dudley Buck, then widely known as organist, conductor and composer. It was indeed a gracious tribute to commission the ex-Confederate soldier to write in celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, and he responded as nobly. Within the text which he submitted, there occur eight lines—Lanier's testament of Americanism—which should, under the title "Dear Land of All My Love," be included in any anthology of patriotism:

Long as thine Art shall love true love,
Long as thy Science truth shall know,
Long as thine Eagle harms no Dove,
Long as thy Law by law shall grow,
Long as thy God is God above,
Thy brother every man below,
So long, dear Land of all my love,
Thy name shall shine, thy fame shall glow!

Then came the outstanding happiness of Lanier's career, his connection with the newly established Johns Hopkins University.

Daniel Coit Gilman, after whom Gilman Hall on the Homewood campus is named, brought together in the Centennial Year that first great Johns Hopkins faculty which almost overnight established the fame of the university. Some of the names are legendary now—Gildersleeve, Rowland, Osler, Remsen, Welch. Gilman's amazing feat of organization started a new era of educational force in America. It won for him such renown that today he is regarded as one of the pioneering giants of American education. He brought many glories to the Hopkins, not the least of which was to provide it with the poet who will be forever a tradition and asset on its "arts side."

"Sidney Lanier," said President Gilman, "like a comet appeared on our horizon during the centennial year." It went without saying that the two should meet and discuss a place for Lanier in the new university. Of that meeting Lanier wrote: "Mr. Gilman . . . received me with great cordiality. I took tea with him . . . and he devoted his entire evening to discussing with me some available method of connecting me with the University officially."

But, just as Lanier had taught himself to play the flute, for he never

had had a lesson, so also his equipment to become a member of the faculty at Hopkins had been self-acquired, mostly at the Peabody Library. Lanier admitted that his preparation was "sort of non-descript." And accordingly no position was immediately given; although, as Gilman said, "I was anxious to have him appointed, but the Trustees did not see their way clear to do so."

The disappointment merely served to sharpen Lanier's determination and purpose. He put increased time and labor into his lectures, his studies, and the writing of poetry. In two more years the city was fully aware of Lanier, student, musician, critic, lecturer, poet. In an incredibly short period he had become one of the most distinguished Baltimoreans. Step by step, he had brought himself to a point where an association with the university was inevitable. President Gilman now sought him out. "It was natural that he should be invited to lecture before the University," Gilman said, and wrote to Lanier:

I think your aims and your preparation admirable. . . . I am very glad that you lend us your aid . . . we need among us someone like you, loving literature and poetry and treating it in such a way as to enlist and inspire many students.

Lanier was appointed in 1879 as lecturer in English literature, a position he filled faithfully until his death. One of the students who sat under him said that his teaching method brought about "a subtle expansion of the power of appreciation and an undefinable exaltation of the instincts of taste that I have since learned were more precious than any precise increments of knowledge."

As if to put in permanent form that great devotion which he had for the new university, Lanier wrote an "Ode to the Johns Hopkins University" which ranks as one of the foremost university poems in American literature. An excerpt showing its cadence is:

And here, O finer Pallas, long remain,—
Sit on these Maryland hills and fix thy reign,
And frame a fairer Athens than of yore
In these blest bounds of Baltimore,—

* * * * *

Bring old Renown
To walk familiar citizen of the town . . .

The university, for its part, has honored the poet by setting aside space in the main reading room, appropriately in Gilman Hall, for a collection of Lanieriana which is perhaps the largest, not in private hands, in existence. The collection is gathered about a bronze bust of Lanier, detailing the sensitive, cameo-like features as they appeared

to the well-known Baltimore sculptor, Ephraim Keyser, in the last few months of the poet's life. By gradual acquisition, the university has been assembling memorabilia concerning the poet, and hopes to build up there the national Lanier shrine.

Lanier's eight years in Baltimore—somewhat short of a full decade—centered around the Washington Monument. Nearby were the classic marble Peabody and the sombre red-brick first buildings of the Johns Hopkins University on Howard, Eutaw and Monument Streets.

It was an era of shade-trees, cobblestones, horse-cars and bearded men. At many street intersections there were stepping stones upon which to cross in rainy weather to avoid puddles and streams of water. Professor Gildersleeve recalled that Lanier negotiated these with agility and grace, a collection of books under one arm and his precious lecture notes under the other.

He lived in various houses in Baltimore, not all of which are now standing. His addresses, by their old and present numbers, were:

<i>Old number</i>	<i>Present number</i>	<i>Present status</i>
64 Centre St. ²¹	19 East Center St.	Still standing: converted into store.
66 Centre St.	17 East Center St.	Still standing: converted into store.
55 Lexington St.	2 East Lexington St.	Torn down: now office building.
180 St. Paul St.	1022 St. Paul St.	Torn down: now office building.
33 Denmead St.	20th St. at Lovegrave Alley	Torn down: now parking lot.
435 N. Calvert St.	1817 N. Calvert St.	Still standing: converted into store.

All except the two last named were boarding houses for musicians or houses in which Lanier rented a few rooms or an apartment.

It was not until 1878, five years after he had come to Baltimore, and comparatively late in his own life, that he was to have his own home. Mrs. Lanier had, in the autumn of 1877, come to Baltimore to live, bringing the sons. This was the first time that Lanier was "head of his house." It was a modest dwelling at 33 Denmead Street, now Twentieth Street, on the north side, between St. Paul and Charles Streets, at Lovegrove Alley. The house was three stories high, two rooms deep on each floor, with smaller rooms fitting into spaces left available by the planning of an "English stairway" which was parallel to the front of the house and situated between the two large front and back rooms on each floor.

From this address, Lanier wrote in proud and joyous vein:

The painters, the whitewashers, the plumbers, the locksmiths, the carpenters, the gas-fitters, the stove-put-up-ers, . . . the piano-movers, the carpet-layers,—all these I have seen, bargained with, . . . and finally paid off. . . . I have

²¹ The Centre Street buildings later became the first location of the preparatory department of the Peabody Conservatory of Music, under Miss May Garrettson Evans.

bought at least three hundred and twenty-seven household utensils which suddenly came to be absolutely necessary to our existence: I have moreover hired a colored gentlewoman who is willing to wear out my carpets, burn out my range, freeze out my water-pipes, and be generally useful. . . . I have had a *Xmas* tree for my youngsters. . . . We are in a state of extreme content with our new home. . . . Good heavens, how I wish the whole world had a Home! I confess I am a little nervous about the gas bills . . . but then . . . No man is a Bohemian who has to pay water-rates and a street-tax. Every day when I sit in my dining-room—*my* dining-room—I find the wish growing stronger that each poor soul in Baltimore, whether saint or sinner, could come and dine with me.

Being householder gave him a feeling of stability and assurance which he had never previously enjoyed. He wrote to Bayard Taylor:

When I am on the street there is a certain burgher-like heaviness in my tread . . . I am a man of substance . . . I am liable for water-rates, gas bills and other disbursements.

That was the measure of his great happiness—he was proud to pay taxes. And he was a "poor poet," at that!

Thus, three years before he was to die, Lanier became a full-fledged Baltimorean. First flute in the orchestra, lecturer in the university, tutoring and lecturing on the side, he was nevertheless first of all a "literary man." He was beginning to feel that he was an established and recognized poet. His name appeared in the city directory as "writer." He shaped his lectures so that they could be made into books. He stored up "poem outlines" for poems to come.

One such sketch or idea for a poem which was never written was found among his papers after he had died. It is a pathetic comment on the ever present problem of providing for his family, at the same time pursuing the "art life" he had come to follow. Intended to be in the form of a prayer, it was:

O Lord, if thou wert needy as I,
 If thou should'st come to my door as I do thine,
 If thou hungered so much as I
 For that which belongs to the spirit,
 For that which is fine and good,
 Ah, friend, for that which is fine and good,
 I would give it to thee if I had power,
 For that which I want is, first, bread—
 Thy decree, not my choice, that bread must be first;
 Then music, then some time out of the struggle for bread
 to write my poems;
 Then to put out of care . . . [those] whom I love.
 O my God, how little would put them out of care!²²

²² Quoted from *Southern Writers. Biographical and Critical Studies: Sidney Lanier*, by William Malone Baskervill. Nashville, Tenn.: Barbree & Smith, 1896.

Baltimore friends of the Laniers were numerous, and many Baltimoreans today tell traditional anecdotes of the poet's association with their families. Friends were recruited in the various circles in which he moved—in music, in university and social groups, in "parlor classes," among students, neighbors and church members. Lanier's buoyant and enthusiastic manner and smiling personality easily made acquaintances into warm friends, all of whom were much impressed by the underlying seriousness of his purpose. Outstanding among his friends were Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Turnbull, both of whom were actively interested in literary pursuits; President Gilman, Asger Hamerik, Col. Richard Malcolm Johnston, H. A. Allen, professor of violin instruction at the Peabody;²³ Otto Sutro, energetic leader of the Wednesday Club; Father Tabb; Leonce Rabillon,²⁴ a fellow lecturer to "parlor classes"; Philip R. Uhler, librarian at the Peabody; Mme. Nannette Falk-Auerbach, professor of instrumental music at the Peabody;²⁵ Frederick H. Gottlieb, one-time *flauto secundo* to Lanier's *primo*;²⁶ Henry C. Wysham, lawyer and music enthusiast; the Machen family, Dr. Thomas Shearer, and Dr. Adalbert J. Volck, a refugee from Bavaria, dentist, artist and raconteur.²⁷

Other close friends of Lanier's who were not Baltimoreans were Bayard Taylor, Gibson Peacock, editor of the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*; Charlotte Cushman, the actress, Paul Hamilton Hayne, and George Westfeldt, whom Lanier met in North Carolina in the last months of his life. Lanier, dying, told Mrs. Lanier to inscribe his last poem, "Sunrise," to Westfeldt. Lanier knew, but only slightly, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Joel Chandler Harris.

In these hurried, crowded years Lanier wrote in Baltimore many of his greatest poems: "Sunrise," "The Marshes of Glynn," "The Symphony," "Psalm of the West," "Opposition," "My Springs,"

²³ Tradition ascribes to Prof. Allen the authorship of the maxim: "It is not necessary to have long hair and a limburger breath to be a musician." In the 1870's, this thought was startlingly original.

²⁴ Prof. Rabillon, born in France, lectured mainly on topics pertaining to that country and its language. He was also a sculptor, his best-known work being the seated figure of George Peabody in Mt. Vernon Place.

²⁵ Of her piano recitals, Hamerik said: ". . . their importance, in forming and improving the taste for true musical art, cannot be overestimated; and too many of them cannot be given." She was a pioneer in the cause of musical appreciation in Baltimore, yet found ample time to devote to her family.

²⁶ After Mr. Gottlieb had ascended the social scale from *flauto secundo* to become portly brewer, capitalist and clubman, he told in beaming reminiscence how Lanier had once told him that "as flautist he was a good brewer, and as brewer, a good flautist." This, he said, was "fun of the '70's."

²⁷ Dr. Volck is best known for his Dürer-like drawings of the Civil War, "Ben" Butler and the Wednesday Club; and for his work as silversmith. So thorough was his work as dentist that one patient, at least, boasted that his fillings had stayed in for more than 65 years.

"Individuality," "The Crystal," "Acknowledgment," "The Revenge of Hamish" and "The Hard Times in Elfland."

At this period, too, he wrote "A Ballad of Trees and the Master," the hymn-like lyric which many consider to be the finest poem in the English language appropriate to Easter. It is a nature setting for the Biblical incident, called the "Agony in the Garden," the pause for prayer just before the Master went on to Golgotha. It is an impression of the relation in that hour between the Man and nature.

Lanier was suffering acutely on the day the poem was written, in November, 1880, in the dwelling at 1817 N. Calvert Street. The postman had brought a letter from a friend asking Lanier to call for a supply of a new tonic which the friend, who was also ill, thought might benefit the poet. This was typical solicitude, for friends were constantly suggesting remedies. Lanier himself, however, could not go: besides, it was raining hard at the time. He discussed the situation with Mrs. Lanier, and, lest the friend be offended, it was decided that Mrs. Lanier should go in his place. She has written what occurred:

It was cold November weather . . . I was to go out for a little while to see a friend who was also ill. He [the poet] urged me to go. As I went to change my house-dress for a warmer one, he began to write on a sheet of paper. I had been gone from the room perhaps fifteen or twenty minutes. When I came back he handed me the paper, saying, "Take this to her and tell her that it is fresh from the mint." It was "A Ballad of Trees and the Master," just as we have it without erasure or correction.

Almost spontaneously, the poet, himself desperately ill, and undoubtedly feeling that he, too, faced a Golgotha, had written down the ballad which seems destined to live forever in American poetry.²⁸

The lectures have been gathered into books: *The Science of English Verse*, *Shakspeare and his Forerunners*, and *The English Novel*. Even today, these are still regarded as authoritative. Recently, Mark Sullivan, reviewing the literary activity of America in the early twentieth century, said in *Our Times*:

The understanding of words, prosody, style which many college students fail to acquire from a score of teachers and text books, [Henry L.] Mencken

²⁸ Many musical settings have been composed for "A Ballad of Trees and the Master," either by that name or by the title of its first line, "Into the woods my Master went." Among the published versions are those by Francis Urban, H. Alexander Matthews, George W. Chadwick, Daniel Protheroe, Arthur Shepherd, H. W. Dyckman, George B. Nevin and Frances McCollin. The poem has also been set to music by Peter Christian Lutkin in the Methodist Hymnal, hymn No. 132; and appears in "Franklin Square Song Collection," Harpers, 1889. Mrs. Lanier never revealed to the public during her lifetime the name of the friend for whom the poem was written, although it is probable that members of the family now living may know and will sometime give the name.

distilled for himself from one self-found book, Sidney Lanier's "Science of English Verse."

Lanier also wrote "pot boilers,"—a series of books for boys, such as *The Boy's King Arthur*; and travel essays, like *Florida*, all of which admittedly were done rapidly for the purpose of increasing income.

The poet was a stable, "un-temperamental" family man. He had shown an affectionate loyalty during the war to his brother Clifford. To parents and sister he was bound by the closest ties of gallantry and respect. Too, he loved children: to take walks with them, to play in their games, to name camps in their honor, as Camp Robin, after the youngest son, Robert Sampson Lanier. But the outstanding devotion was for his wife, Mary Day Lanier, for whom he wrote most of his lyric lines—such poems as "Evening Song," "My Springs," "Laus Mariæ," "June Dreams, in January." Her watchful attention to, her encouragement of, her fragile poet is almost without parallel in literary history. She, too, was a magnificent personality: the full complement to his.

Mrs. Lanier, after the death of her husband, lived for a time in Baltimore where, with Mrs. Lawrence Turnbull and Miss Louisa C. O. Houghton, she took an active part in launching the Woman's Literary Club, which is celebrating this year the fiftieth anniversary of its founding. It was from Mrs. Lanier's memories and the material which she preserved that the biographies of her husband by Ward, Mims, Starke and Lorenz have been compiled or derived. She never tired of speaking of the poet and their days in Baltimore. Her devotion to his memory throughout a full half-century of widowhood reminds one of John W. Alexander's well-known painting, "The Pot of Basil." She had for consolation, however, those lines from "Evening Song," which her husband had written for her:

Look off, dear Love, across the sallow sands,
And mark yon meeting of the sun and sea,
How long they kiss in sight of all the lands.
Ah! longer, longer, we.

Lanier was deeply spiritual. Although in childhood his mother placed him in the Presbyterian Church, he attended the Protestant Episcopal Church in Baltimore. Perhaps the best statement of his religious belief is contained in "The Marshes of Glynn." Standing in contemplation of the unending swamps off the coast of Georgia, the poet stated the basis of his faith:

As the marsh-hen secretly builds on the watery sod,
Behold I will build me a nest on the greatness of God:
I will fly in the greatness of God as the marsh-hen flies
In the freedom that fills all the space 'twixt the marsh and the skies.

Yet Lanier, despite all handicaps, was not bowed down. His disposition was essentially bright and gay. He had a marked sense of humor, as the following extract, which has a peculiarly up-to-date sound, shows:

I knowed a man, which he lived in Jones,
Which Jones is a county of red hills and stones,
And he lived pretty much by gittin' of loans,
And his mules was nuthin' but skin and bones,
And his hogs was flat as his corn-bread pones,
And he had 'bout a thousand acres o' land.

But above all else his poetic achievement is noted for his remarkable ability to combine music and poetry—to choose words to express thoughts in such way that the mere sounding of the words took on musical quality. "The Song of the Chattahoochee," as a whole poem, is the best illustration of this use of words and meter.

And, of course, his flute is always singing:

A velvet flute-note fell down pleasantly
Upon the bosom of that harmony,
And sailed and sailed incessantly,
As if a petal from a wild-rose blown.

It is generally considered that his masterwork is "Sunrise," a symphony to the sun of 192 lines. Just as a few chords or a detached melody from a symphony would not be a fair sample of its musical content, so also it is difficult to select a quotation from "Sunrise." But here are examples of its melodic majesty:

The worker must pass to his work in the terrible town:
But I fear not, nay, and I fear not the thing to be done;
I am strong with the strength of my lord the Sun:
How dark, how dark soever the race that must needs be run,
I am lit with the Sun.

And then, speaking directly to the sun, Lanier concludes the poem:

And ever my heart through the night shall with knowledge abide thee,
And ever by day shall my spirit, as one that hath tried thee,
Labor, at leisure, in art, — till yonder beside thee
My soul shall float, friend Sun,
The day being done.

Among the descriptions of the appearance and personality of Lanier, perhaps the best is that left by President Gilman:

The appearance of Lanier was striking . . . his looks, manners, ways of speech had distinction. I have heard a lady say that if he took his place in a crowded horse-car, an exhilarating atmosphere seemed to be introduced by his breezy ways. He was not far from five feet ten inches in height, slight in figure, with jet black hair, pallid complexion, bright, restless eyes, and a long flowing beard which gracefully fell upon his breast. His motions were alert and nervous, his speech gentle and refined, his dress careful, and his gloves of the nicest fit . . . in the days of his greatest need, he was always a gentleman in appearance and dress . . . [A] rare combination of gentleness and intellectual brightness . . . [with a] sunshiny and sympathetic smile . . . [which] illuminated his face.

But Lanier seemed to throw his energy and enthusiasm almost recklessly into too many things. He was compelled by necessity to provide for the growing family,²⁹ and in those "depression years" following the Panic of 1873, the year he came to Baltimore, "parlor classes," flute playing, tutoring, poetry and lecturing, were not very remunerative. Just as he entered upon the joys of success, the consuming fever racked his frame with increasing severity, perhaps because of the intense cold of the winter of 1880-'81 in Baltimore.

We may only speculate now what might have been his career had he lived to fill his post at the Johns Hopkins as did the venerable Longfellow at Harvard.

"Sunrise" was written while his temperature was at 104 degrees. He feared that he would not live long enough to set it all down on paper. He came to the last lectures in Hopkins Hall wrapped in blankets in a closed carriage. Friends assisted him to the platform. "Those who heard him listened with a sort of fascinated terror, as in doubt whether the hoarded breath would suffice to the end of the hour."

President Gilman wrote:

The last time that I saw Lanier was in the spring of 1881, when, after a winter of severe illness, he came to make arrangements for his lectures of the next winter and to say good-bye for the summer. His emaciated form could scarcely walk across the yard from the carriage to the door. "I am going to Asheville, N. C.," he said, "and I am going to write an account of that region as a railroad guide. It seems as if the Good Lord always took care of me. Just as the doctor had said that I must go to that mountain region, the publishers gave me a commission to prepare a book." "Good-bye," he added, and I supported his tottering steps to the carriage door, never to see his face again.

It was very apparent that, although he was not yet forty years old, the end was near. Except for the fact that the quotation does not

²⁹ There were four sons—Charles Day, Sidney, Henry Wysham and Robert Sampson Lanier.

take into account his always cheerful, active, progressive resoluteness, it might be said of him, in his own words, that:

. . . life was the dropping and death the drying
Of a Tear that fell in a day when God was sighing.

In May, 1881, he went to a camp under canvas, called Camp Robin, in the pine mountains of North Carolina, overlooking the French Broad River, about three miles from Asheville. His father, his wife and loyal Clifford were with him. But there was no progress, and as the summer wore away the sad family moved into a little farm cottage of a few rooms in the Pacolet Valley, near Lynn, North Carolina. Even so late Lanier had not given up: he scribbled off hints of poems. Almost to the very end he was taking daily rides astride an easyloping pony, looking at the mountains, the trees, the river; going alone, as if taking a personal, solitary farewell to the nature which he worshipped.

He died, in the little cottage, on September 7, 1881. Mrs. Lanier had offered him, as he sat in a chair by a window looking into the sun-lit valley, a cordial which always before had served to stimulate, to revive him. He said: "I can't." These were his last words.³⁰

Because Lanier had so completely adopted Baltimore as his home, it was decided that he should be buried here. The same little family group, arriving at Union Station from Washington on the Niagara Express, placed the coffin before the altar of the Church of St. Michael and All Angels, St. Paul and Denmead (Twentieth) Streets. Upon it was a cross of white flowers. This was the church which Lanier and his family had attended, and where his sons Charles Day and Sidney, Jr., had been baptised.

Funeral services were conducted by the Rev. William Kirkus, on September 9, 1881. It had been a summer of unprecedented heat, and many friends of the poet were still out of town. But a representative gathering attended. Dr. William Hand Browne and Leonce Rabillon represented the Johns Hopkins; Professor Allen, the Peabody; J. W. M. Lee, the Maryland Historical Society; Professors F. D. Morrison and Frank T. Barrington, the old Blind Asylum. Others present were Lawrence Turnbull, Col. Richard M. Johnston, Major Innes Randolph, Captain Wedburn Hall, John C. Wrenshall, Thomas W. Baxter, Mr. and Mme. Falk-Auerbach, John Machen, Arthur Machen, Frederick Brown and Dr. Hastings. The service

³⁰ Mrs. Lanier kept the little glass in which she had poured the cordial as a symbol of this last effort to help her husband. She wrapped it carefully and placed it with other mementoes. Late in life she gave it to Mrs. Sidney Lanier, (Jr.), in whose possession, still unwrapped, it is.

consisted simply of the rites of the Protestant Episcopal Church, no addresses being made.

He was buried in Greenmount Cemetery near the stone wall along the North Avenue boundary of the cemetery. Nearby are the graves of his devoted friends Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Turnbull. Marking Lanier's grave is an irregularly shaped boulder of pink granite from his native Georgia upon which is a bronze tablet giving his name, the dates of his birth and death, a delineation of a rising sun, and the line:

I AM LIT WITH THE SUN.

On the day of his funeral *The Sun* said: "His death removes from American literature one of its brightest intellects, and takes from Baltimore a gentleman whose gifts added many laurels to her fame." There appeared in the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* an editorial which said:

A purer and a nobler man the records of literature could not show. If ever a knightly heart beat in the breast of a fragile man, it did in his. Not any of the heroes of the Round Table or of Froissart, that he loved so, ever lived a life of higher chivalry than he. He was so stainless in his life, so courteous to opponents, so punctilious in honor, so scornful of a lie or of a sham, so free from envy, so brave and patient under troubles, that he seemed like one of the Knights of the Holy Grail, a Galahad or Percival, living amid the prosaic contentions of the nineteenth century. An artist of rare musical gifts, a poet, a man of letters—it is sad to lose all these, but saddest that best of all his poems, his life.

NEW MUNSTER

By CARL ROSS MCKENRICK

A plaque placed alongside the improved highway extending from Newark, Delaware, to Rising Sun, Maryland, near the crossing of the Big Elk in Cecil County bears the following legend:

NEW MUNSTER

A Tract of 6000 Acres laid out in 1683 by George Talbot (then Surveyor-General of Maryland) for Edwin O'Dwire and 15 other Irishmen. Its northern boundary extended into what is now the State of Pennsylvania.

Its odd allusion to the "15 other Irishmen" naturally excites the curiosity of the fleeting motorist. Though only slightly noticed by historians, the event recorded deserves more than passing comment. It ties in with a broad background of provincial history and expands widely into national. This paper deals with the obvious query why and wherefore the "other Irishmen."

The certificate of survey sets down the metes and bounds minutely and quaintly:

Beginning at a marked poplar on a high bank over the west side of the Main Fresh of Elk River, and about a pistol shott to the mouth of a rivulet called the Shure, [etc.]

The area embraced ten square miles, one third of which extended into the present Chester County, Pennsylvania, and almost touching the Delaware line on the east, but all well within Lord Baltimore's original grant. The Big Elk pierces the approximate center, the Little Elk is to the West and the headwaters of "Christeen" Creek at the eastern end. It is highly arable, rolling land now thinly populated.

A well preserved eighteenth century stone dwelling stands on the roadside near the marker with foundation marks of extensive farm buildings. There are a few other such landmarks within the tract, including the old Dysart Inn at Appleton Cross Roads, claiming origin in 1714 and known variously as "Seven Stars" and "Fox Chase." By the Big Elk—a great source of water power in early days—there stood until recently the stone walls of a very large mill building. Other similar relics have disappeared. The present day center of interest is the "Fair Hill" steeplechase course, just beyond the western boundary, owned by Mr. William Du Pont and associates. Much of New Munster itself has been acquired by the same group for stock farm purposes. Enough that the physical remains of the tract are incon-

spicuous and unimportant, and but for its unique connection with Maryland and national history, its story would be as colorless as the average title abstract.

The able local historian, George Johnston, has preserved many facts relating to the settlement, in conjunction with the romantic and daring exploits of Colonel George Talbot on the border when the Penn-Baltimore controversy was rife; also in explanation of the numerous old Presbyterian churches and cemeteries thereabouts.

He concludes, as all researchers must, that Talbot's "other Irishmen" turned out to be Ulster Scots, whether by accident or design, but does not attempt to establish that fact as a logical sequence of the Calvert settlement policy and the imminent need of thwarting William Penn. Nor has he claimed for Cecil County the credit it deserves as one of the earliest and most influential centers of Scotch Irish settlement. The admitted importance of this breed in later history makes worth while an inquiry as to its local seed bed.

At the period, 1683, a half century had elapsed since Charles I granted his then favorite, George Calvert, the most liberal character yet known, with rights about equivalent to those the "King hath in his palace."

A realistic land settlement program followed. Fealty to the proprietary and payment of a moderate quit rent were the only conditions generally affixed to a grant of land. Every adult adventurer might have 50 to 100 acres upon the mere act of immigration. Traces of the feudal system were apparent in the offer of manors, 2000 to 6000 acres to chosen individuals and groups, with appurtenant rights such as court-baron and frank-pledge. But the tenancy idea did not thrive here, where individual aspirations seemed to spring from the land itself. All estates granted became practically allodial or fee simple. Civil and religious privileges were liberal. Competitive conditions among the projectors of colonies required such liberality. The harassed as well as the venturesome were to be encouraged and fortunately the Calverts were not imbued with theocratic or utopian notions to hamper plantation and development.

From the problem of merely settling the land and assuring revenue therefrom, it was soon necessary to face that of preserving the integrity and protecting the boundaries of the province. Following the settlement with Claiborne and suppression of minor Indian uprisings, there developed uncertainties as to Virginia, with actual threats of invasion on the seaboard side to follow, culminating with Penn's claim to a twenty-mile strip on the north "to the fortieth degree" at the period of the New Munster grant.

The "conditions of plantation" were being altered progressively to attract settlers to the disputed areas. The advent of Governor William Stone, a Protestant, in 1648 marked a new influx of settlers. In his commission Lord Baltimore set forth that Stone

hath undertaken to procure five hundred people of British or Irish descent to come from other places and plant and reside within our said province for the advancement of our colony there.

An act of religious toleration was adopted the following year and the bid for settlers soon enlarged to include "those of French, Dutch and Italian descent." Stone's first experiment in mass migration was the seating of the Puritans ostracized by Virginia at Providence on the Severn. It proved an unhappy one. The colonies were quick to react to the violent clashes between creeds across the water and the Puritan party here in the flush of its ascendancy, seized the reins of government. After a sizable battle on the Severn in 1655, Stone was made prisoner and escaped execution by a hair.

Meanwhile Lord Baltimore was urging the establishment of permanent settlements "on that tract of land commonly called the Eastern Shore, lying between the Bay of Chesapeake and the Sea . . . for the better publication and remembrance of the bounds between Virginia and Maryland and prevention of controversies which may hereafter happen between the inhabitants of Virginia and those of our province."

Virginia having exiled the Quakers by statute and shown disfavor to nonconformists generally, Governor Calvert issued a proclamation November 6, 1661, under authority of Cecil Lord Baltimore "that the late inhabitants of Northampton-Accomack County, Virginia, be granted lands upon the Eastern Shore of the Province . . . to the end that this part of the province next adjoining said county be peopled." The first settlements in the area which became Somerset County date from this period and were chiefly composed of these migrants.

By 1667, the English had completed their conquest of Dutch territory on the Hudson and Delaware, and the Duke of York succeeded to the Dutch rights. The Council are informed that several persons "are seated on the seaboard side and do pretend to be under the Government of New York" and the question of territorial rights was to be determined by quick occupancy pending "a right understanding betwixt the two governments."

Colonel William Stevens was chosen as a medium for securing the settlement of that region, then known as "The Hoarkill" and later embraced within Somerset County. A special warrant for 8000 acres

was granted "to be proportioned out by him for the encouragement of such as will seat there," with special inducements to families having "at least two working hands" who agreed to settle forthwith "and not desert their plantations." The group settlement idea was growing. Aside from protection, religious alignments, racial distinctions, family and social ties all favored it. So far as the Scotch Irish were concerned they constituted "congregations." Church history when available may, therefore, be useful where other data is vague.

It seems coincidental that Presbyterian organization reached a high point in Somerset County in 1683, the year of the New Munster grant, through the arrival of Francis Makemie as the direct result of Colonel Stevens' request of a North Ireland presbytery for "a Godly minister." Three others either accompanied or followed Makemie into Somerset. The records show the existence of congregations both here and on the western shore—Prince George's and Charles Counties, from about 1668. Makemie soon set about organizing a presbytery. When formed in 1705/6 under the name Philadelphia Presbytery, *five* of the original seven members were from Maryland,—one from Delaware and one from Philadelphia. For a period of about 38 years thereafter there was but one church of this denomination in Philadelphia. From the time of formation of New Castle Presbytery in 1716 it was the center of a much larger group surrounding the section at the head of the Bay and lower Pennsylvania. The Scottish surnames identified with old Somerset begin to appear in Cecil County and thereabout at later dates, with steady increase of church activities in the border region. The known disfavor of Penn and his agents toward this sect, together with many collateral facts confirm and explain the steady gravitation to this center. Following the settlement activities on the Eastern Shore, the Proprietary was confronted with William Penn's threatened usurpation at the north. He had arrived (in 1682) with his charter, and with deeds from the Duke of York covering the three lower counties—Delaware. The "Seaboard Side" seemed hopeless but Charles Calvert and his irascible surveyor general George Talbot had thrown a challenge to Penn on the "fortieth degree" claim.

On March 19, 1683, the Lord Proprietary issued a commission to Talbot to "lett any part of his Lordship's two manors in Cecil County" in the following language:

Whereas it hath been always our intent to strengthen and fortify the northern parts of this our province of Maryland, the better to enable the inhabitants

thereof to resist the invasion and outrages of the northern Indians: And whereas we have two manors in New Ireland, in Cecil county, each called Baltemore mannor, lying between Elk river, and the North East (als Shennon) river, which if well seated would conduce much to the strength and convenience of the neighbourhood thereabouts; We do therefore hereby authorise you to lay out in each of our said mannors, two hundred acres for demesnes, and to grant warrants of survey on all the rest to such persons as shall intend immediately to seate upon the same; (noe warrant to exceed two hundred acres;) And we do thereby promise to all such takers up of lands in our said mannors, that they shall at their election have leases of one and thirty years, or three lives granted them, at the yearly rent of one hundred pounds of tobacco, or one barrill of corne, or shall have firm grants to them and their heirs for ever, at the yearly rent of two hundred pounds of tobacco, per hundred acres, etc.

It must have been with tongue in cheek that the allusion to " northern Indians " was made. Certainly the only invasion then threatened in that quarter was that of neighbor Penn. In direct pursuance of this authority, Talbot on August 7th, 1683, issued the certificate of survey of the New Munster tract to " Edwin O'Dwire and fifteen other [unnamed] Irishmen."

When Calvert sailed to meet Penn in London during the summer of 1684 for a test of their respective territorial rights, the stage seemed set for an unhappy ending. A *quo warranto* proceeding for annulment of Calvert's charter was pending. Penn's claims had royal support. His friend the Duke of York was soon to ascend the throne as James II. George Talbot had been made chief of a council of nine to govern the province in Charles Calvert's absence, the heir, Benedict Leonard Calvert, being a minor. Talbot's murder of Revenue Collector Rousby and consequent flight proved the culminating woe. The fort at Christiana and the projected county of New Ireland passed from the scene. But for the New Munster tract, already laid out, no tangible relic of Talbot's bold campaign would have remained. The Charter was saved from annulment, but the issue of the " Fortieth Degree " was irretrievably lost.

Calvert himself had not despaired, for in reporting the unhappy outcome of the proceedings at London to his provincial council December 1, 1685, he hopefully adds:

In the meantime I desire and hereby order you to take care to prevent Penn's people from making any settlements near heads and branches of any of the rivers that fall into Chesapeake Bay, and to encourage the inhabitants of my Province that have already surveyed lands in those parts to seat them in my right as soon as they can, and particularly to take care the Pennsylvanians make no further encroachments on the lands where Colonel George Talbot was seated, and to secure the fort near Christiana Bridge until you hear fur-

ther from me, being resolved notwithstanding this order to keep possession of what is surveyed, and to be on the defensive part rather than forced to complain.

Lord Baltimore's allusion to settlements at the heads of rivers and lands seated by Talbot points directly to New Munster. It was a *fait accompli*, though but a fragment of the great seating project intended to checkmate Penn.

With the feudal element present in all Maryland grants, the Proprietor may well have relied upon the allegiance and support of his settlers in defense of his title under ancient custom. But the old order had passed and, as matters turned, the fifteen Irishmen or whoever settled these parts, were spared any call as liegemen. They were henceforth free to pursue their individual interests, and to bring about the doom of feudalism, along with other forms of political servitude.

With this background of events and settlement policy, we come to the speculative inquiry, Who were Edwin (or Edmond) O'Dwire and the fifteen other Irishmen?

It will be noted from the Proprietary's commission to George Talbot in 1683, that the tenures granted the "takers up" of the land should be, *at their election*, "leases for one and thirty years" or "firm grants to them and their heirs forever."

It may be merely coincidence, or a lack of certainty in the grant of "New Munster" itself, that the earliest deeds to actual settlers of the tract were executed and recorded in 1714, just 31 years after the original grant in 1683. Occupation of the land being the primary objective of the Proprietary, and possession the traditional "nine-points" to the settler, the choice of tenure was unimportant at the time. It became important, however, by the time the lease period had expired when permanent domiciles had been established and improvements made. Title had meanwhile passed from O'Dwire to several other non-resident holders. That O'Dwire never "seated" himself on the land, in the sense contemplated by the Proprietary's commission to Talbot, seems clear. While there is no conveyance from him on record, an instrument executed in 1691 refers to him as "late of this province."

Eventually, one Thomas Stevenson, of Bensalem, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, acquired title to a substantial portion of the tract, about 3,000 acres, and in May 1714 deeded about 1150 acres to a "company" consisting of Matthew Wallace, yeoman, James Alexander, farmer, Arthur Alexander, farmer, David Alexander, weaver, James Alexander, weaver, and Joseph Alexander, tanner. This deed, con-

veying title in fee simple, executed under Stevenson's power of attorney to "my friend John MacKnitt, of Back Creek in Cecil County, Md.," recites that inasmuch as the above grantees, Matthew Wallace and company, had "for some years last past improved and possessed said tract" and divided same "among themselves, each man according to his holden,"

I, the said Stevenson being minded to sell ye said tract, thought it most equitable, honest and right that they, ye said possessors thereof should have the first offer to buy

provided they complied with his terms as to price, which they had done.

Thomas Stevenson had previously,—prior to 1710—conveyed land in Bucks County to a group of Dutch settlers who formed the Bensalem Presbyterian Church, thus evidencing a personal interest in church organization. Incidentally, the Neshaminy Church nearby, seat of the famous "Log College" was also of Dutch derivation, as was that at New Castle, whereas the Maryland churches appear to have all had a Scotch Irish basis.

Johnston, in his history of Cecil County, concludes from the Stevenson deed that the grantees named were among the "fifteen other Irishmen" and, therefore, original settlers. This is plausible as can be, short of a factual demonstration. All parties to the 1714 transaction were of Scotch derivation. Stevenson's "friend," John MacKnitt, was located in Somerset County, Maryland, at an earlier date and has been identified as a member of one of the earliest Presbyterian congregations. There is record there of the marriage in 1693 of John MacKnitt with Jane Wallis (Wallace). One of the James Alexanders of New Munster married Margaret, daughter of John MacKnitt. Their son John McKnitt Alexander migrated to North Carolina and became secretary of the Mecklenburg Convention of 1775. There are numerous other chains of association between individuals in this group.

Henry Jones Ford, in his scholarly and well authenticated work, *The Scotch Irish in America*, refers to the group settlement on the New Munster tract as the earliest definitely recorded. Not surprisingly, he assumes that there must have been fifteen *real* Irishmen besides O'Dwire, and from the name "New Munster" surmises that they came from *south* Ireland. He was apparently unmindful of George Talbot's curious penchant for Irish place names which caused him to re-name the Northeast River "Shannon" and Susquehanna Manor "New Connaught," and of the border-protective purpose underlying the project of the "County of New Ireland."

"Irishmen" in common parlance meant, of course, all who hailed from Ireland, without distinguishing the Scotch element in Ulster from the native Irish. The former constituted the main body of immigrants and had the same fondness for Erin and its euphonic names. The hybrid name "Scotch-Irish" was a later American invention.

When a bufferland was in contemplation by Maryland she seems to have instinctively favored the same racial element that had proved a salutary influence on the seaboard side. A refractory type was desirable—capable of defending their rights to the inch and yet to be trusted against usurpation. Her experience with the Puritan importation from Virginia had been unhappy and perhaps the immobile and stolid qualities of other settler types seemed less appropriate to the work in hand.

New Castle had become a chief port of entry for the middle colonies and when superseded by Philadelphia later, Penn directed the inflow from Ireland toward the Maryland border. Quaker control of the Pennsylvania Assembly was to be held intact. Unfriendly attitudes elsewhere also influenced the drift of Scotch Irish. Theocratic New England scowled menacingly at all who were not of the prevailing "elect," while New York had actually enacted proscriptive laws. Virginia had its Established Church and all non-conformists were a source of irritation. She eventually tolerated Scotch settlers west of the Blue Ridge, but perhaps for protective purposes also.

Tested by experience in the province and reputation gained in their native heaths, these Scots were good border material. At any rate the selection appears to have been deliberate on the part of the provincial leaders and a happy exercise of free choice by the settlers as well. Talbot was evidently satisfied to designate the class wanted with complete indifference to individual names.

The extent to which transplantation of this breed developed in the first half of the eighteenth century was a matter of amazement on both sides of the Atlantic. Edmund Burke commented that in 1729 of six thousand immigrants to Pennsylvania, four-fifths at least were from Ireland. In that year, James Logan, Secretary of Pennsylvania, wrote: "It looks as though Ireland is to send all its inhabitants hither, for last week not less than six ships arrived." He consolingly tells the Penns that "they generally settle near the Maryland line." But they were "bold and indigent strangers" in his view, who when challenged for titles, cannily reply: "*You solicited for colonists and we came accordingly.*" In later appreciation of their intrinsic qualities, however, Logan when feeling the need of protection from

Indians in the Susquehanna Valley "thought it prudent to plant a settlement of such men as those who formerly had so bravely defended Londonderry and Inniskillen, as a frontier in case of disturbance."

Priority of settlement by the Wallace-Alexander group is strongly evidenced by the organization of Head of Christiana Church on the eastern border of the tract before 1708, following an earlier organization at New Castle. Soon thereafter a perfect cordon of churches surrounded the tract—"The Rock" on Little Elk; Lewisville (Upper Elk); Birmingham on Lower Brandywine; White Clay, Red Clay, New London, Bethel, Pencader and Appoquinimy (Drawyers), among others.

Rev. George Gillespie, of Head of Christiana Church, wrote in 1723 that "near to 200 families have come into our parts from Ireland and more are following. They are generally Presbyterians."

In subsequent history, the initial settlement on the New Munster tract is merged with an expanded area. Two later grants, "Society" and "Fair Hill," immediately to the west, assumed like character. The "twelve-mile circle" around New Castle may be taken as the symbol of this spreading population, with a bulge to the west and northwest. There was a liberal infusion of Welsh, French Huguenots and Dutch who did not differ essentially in creed or mode of life. The Germans, for the most part, were to the north, while the Swedes remained close to the Delaware.

In 1701 William Penn adopted Calvert's scheme for border protection by projecting into Maryland territory a grant of about 8500 acres known as the "Nottingham Lots" to the west of Fair Hill; where the "Brick Meeting House" at Calvert still stands. He also invaded Maryland along the Delaware border with a "Welsh Tract" of much greater area. These were retaliating movements (which George Talbot was not here to resist) intended to give color to Penn's territorial claims. Quaker settlements were induced in each. The neighborhood relationship apparently proved amiable; at least until the Whiggish disposition of the Scotch Irish and certain western frontier problems became assertive.

The pressing need for education made a tutor of every parson. At least four pioneer schools, each conducted by a classical scholar had sprung up in this area by 1740 and were to become famous for their foundational work. Francis Alison preached and taught at New London; Samuel Finley at Nottingham; Samuel Blair at Faggs Manor and Thomas Evans at Pencader. They gathered what was to become an illustrious roll of pupils,—governors, statesmen and leaders in

the professions. Among others, John Ewing, James Latta, Matthew Wilson, Samuel Davies, Joseph Alexander, Charles Thomson (secretary, Continental Congress), Governor Thomas McKean (Penna.), Governor John Henry (Md.), Governor Alexander Martin (N. C.), Richard Stockton (Signer, N. J.), George Read (Signer, Del.), James Smith (Signer, Penna.), Dr. Benjamin Rush (Signer, Penna.), Dr. John Archer, John Bayard, Ebenezer Hazard, James Waddell, Hugh Williamson and Alexander McWhorter. Robert Smith, alumnus of Faggs Manor, in turn founded a notable academy at Pequa.

Davies, Finley and the Blairs joined with the Tennents, of Log College on the Neshaminy, in the founding of the College of New Jersey (Princeton). For the Academy at Philadelphia, later to become the University of Pennsylvania, Benjamin Franklin drafted Alison and Ewing. Other colleges may be directly traced to the same root—Hampden-Sidney, Dickinson, Washington and Lee, to name a few. Newark Academy, now the University of Delaware was the outgrowth of the New London school. Ford credits the origin of the University of North Carolina to the pioneer school of Joseph Alexander, of New Munster (Princeton 1760) in Mecklenburg County.

The influence of the itinerant minister—the circuit rider of the day—is more difficult to appraise, but a great horde of them came out of New Castle Presbytery. Some, fortunately, were diarists, and their records are revealing. For instance, one John Cuthbertson landed at New Castle from Ireland August 5, 1751. The same day, he relates, "Rode twenty miles to the home of Moses Andrews" (at New Munster). Two days later he rides "Fifteen miles to Joseph Rosses at New London." This is the beginning of a missionary tour lasting forty years and covering 60,000 miles on horseback, according to the record. There were many others, Beatty, the two Brainards, McClure, Fithian (Beatty's son-in-law), Duffield, the Finleys and McMillan, to mention a few. Not all these started from New Castle, but all went under the same direction, during the pre-Revolution period.

The peregrinating preacher was a means of wide dissemination of both political and religious doctrine. These coalesced perfectly in the rising spirit of individualism. Little wonder that the conservative party laid upon the dissident Scotch Irish the charge of fomenting the Revolution.

"Unauthorized" settlements were made by Scotch Irish west of the Susquehanna as early as 1730 on the Conococheague (now Franklin County, Pa.) and they are referred to in Pennsylvania history as "intruders under Lord Baltimore's title." They spread steadily

through the Susquehanna and Juniata valleys and by way of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia into North Carolina. The New Munster section was the most prolific source of these early migrations.

By the time of the Braddock expedition in 1755 the Scotch Irish were pushing the frontier even beyond the point of safety from Indian attack. Every adult had become of necessity a rifleman and every congregation a convenient military unit.

In Cumberland County John Armstrong found the nucleus for his expedition against Kittanning (1756) in the first Presbyterian church. Parson John Steele of the same county, but late of New Castle, became Captain Steele, and his meeting-house "Fort Steele." John Elder, known as the "fighting Parson" became Captain Elder and commander of a fort on the Susquehanna. John Craighead fought and preached alternately and, according to the D. A. R. monument near Chambersburg, Pa. "led every man in his congregation" into battle. It is said that when Rev. James Finley of "The Rock" church migrated to Western Pennsylvania, at least thirty neighboring families followed his lead.

There were those who envisaged "Canaan" in the south. For them, the trail turned into the Valley of Virginia. There were Scotch-Irish settlements as far down as the Yadkin and Catawba Rivers before 1745, and soon after a great exodus out of the New Munster region into Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, developed. Family groups, including the Alexanders, Polks, Brevards, Sharps, McWhorters, Grahams, Davidsons, Pattons and Harrises moved about the time the pioneer ministers, Hugh McAden, Alexander Craighead, Hezekiah J. Balch, Joseph Alexander and others were sent out by New Castle Presbytery as "missionaries" to the Carolinas. They were of the group that formed the county of Mecklenburg in 1763, became its first magistrates, organized at least seven Presbyterian churches and a number of schools, with deeds such as the Battle of King's Mountain to follow later.

There are no available statistics on this movement, but there is no doubt of its source and magnitude. One early historian (Alexander Hewatt) wrote:

About this time (1763) above a thousand families, with their effects in the space of one year resorted to Carolina, driving their cattle, hogs and horses overland before them.

Another (Dr. Hugh Williamson) writing in 1812, of the Yadkin River section:

Emigrants from the north of Ireland, by the way of Pennsylvania, flocked to that country, and a considerable part of North Carolina, is inhabited by those people or their descendants.

Closer inquiry will disclose that "Pennsylvania" as thus used means the Maryland borderland we have described. As examples of record evidence, one Cecil County will (1778) refers to three children, heads of families, and another (1789) to six "now residing in North Carolina." The chains of connection between this center and the entire Appalachian frontier are apparent in every study of these settlements.

Of the twenty-seven members of the Mecklenburg Convention who, according to legend on the Charlotte monument, signed the Declaration of Independence on May 20, 1775, at least twenty-four may be traced to New Munster, or its immediate environs. Six of these bore the name Alexander. A trite but telling illustration of the fruitfulness of the settlement is the fact that the Alexanders alone now consume about five pages in the Charlotte City Directory. Elsewhere, too, may be found equally striking examples of the spread of New Munster stock.

It seems well to close this story of New Munster at the eve of the Revolution although the thread of connection runs interminably through later history. Enough to have indicated what important consequences may arise out of a seemingly trivial event, such as the laying out of a tract of land for an uncertain group of Irishmen.

It is gratifying, of course, to find that the recalcitrant breed which James I thought "agreeth as well with monarchy as God with the devil" and sought to "harry out of the land" were found to be eminently fit and suitable for border settlement by Lord Baltimore and his deputy, Talbot.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

A carefully prepared description of "New Munster, New Ireland County, Maryland" by Michael J. O'Brien, Esq., appearing in the *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, vol. 26 (1927) deserves attention. Mr. O'Brien has incorrectly assumed, however, that the settlers were native or Celtic Irish.

Every channel of inquiry confirms the fact that practically all of the early settlers in this locality were protestant. No invidious distinction is intended, but it is clear that until sometime after the parish division by the Established Church in 1692, it had little foothold here, and until a much later date, no appreciable Catholic population appeared in the described area.

As indices of racial origin, the first census of 1790 covering North Milford Hundred, Cecil County, and the land and probate records of Cecil County may be relied upon.

A single probate record is typical: "Estate of William Ferguson" (Book 2/187) in 1762 mentions the names Alexander, Scott, Gillespie, Caruthers, Jordan, Wallace, Andrews, Caldwell and Longwill—all residents.

Ford in *Scotch Irish in America* says (181): "All accessible data indicates that the Chesapeake Bay settlements were the first distinctively Scotch Irish settlements made in America." This was prior to 1680.

And further (212): "Taking the earliest distinct mention of Scotch Irish settlements as the safest guide, their chronological order appears to be as follows:

1. Maryland 1680
2. South Carolina 1682
3. Pennsylvania 1708
4. New England 1718."

The following are of special value as authorities, aside from Maryland *Archives*, Land Office and County Records:

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THE BALTIMORE HUNT CLUB OF 1793

By MARGERY WHYTE

Since the last part of the seventeenth century, when packs of hounds were first kept exclusively for fox-hunting, country gentlemen in both England and the United States have owned their packs and have been in the hunting field nearly every winter day, either afoot or mounted.

In England hunt clubs came into existence very early, together with the ceremony and glamor which now surround the sport; in the United States, on the other hand, informal hunting with privately owned packs was the general rule until the eighteen seventies when interest in fox-hunting was revived and several hunt clubs were formed in the east, patterned on those of Great Britain, to be followed in recent years by numerous clubs scattered all over the country.

As there seem to have been few organized groups engaged in fox-hunting in the eighteenth century in this country, and none so far recorded in Maryland, several notices found by Dr. J. Hall Pleasants in the Historical Society's file of *Edwards's Baltimore Daily Advertiser* for the winter of 1793-4 were of immense interest, for they prove that a group of Baltimore sportsmen had organized a hunt club at that early date. The first of these notices, dated November 15, 1793, was as follows:

3,	Baltimore Hunt.	7
	A RED FOX will be unbagg'd this	
	morning, at 9 A. M. on the ground contigi-	
	ous to JAMES M ^c HENRY, Esq. of which the	
	Members are requested to take notice.	
of	GEORGE GRUNDY, Secretary.	T
..	November 15.	ia
		to

This was repeated the next day. After this date many issues of the newspaper are missing but on December 4th we find: "BALTIMORE HUNT. A Bag Fox will be turned out on Thursday at 9 o'clock, from Walkers Tavern on the York Road to Govanstown. N. B. Dinner for the Members at Beverly's Hotel precisely at 3 o'clock."

The next notice on December 5th ran as follows:

a m p r k	BALTIMORE HUNT: Is POSTPONED till SATURDAY, on account of the weather. MEMBERS are particularly requested THEN to meet at BEVERLY'S HOTEL, on business. DINNER precisely at 3 o'clock. Thursday morning, Dec. 4.	St ot hr ac be di pi pe sa
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Then, on Tuesday, December 10, we find: "BALTIMORE HUNT. On Saturday for the first time the Baltimore Hunt dined together at Beverly's Hotel. The Meeting, though not very numerous, was a very agreeable one, and many good songs sung in the course of the evening, and 'tis but common justice to Mr. Beverly to say, that his dinner, and wines, were extremely good, and his attention such as cannot fail to insure him every encouragement in future."

There is nothing further, though again many issues of the paper are missing, until February 11, 1794, when we find: "BALTIMORE HUNT. The Members of the Baltimore Hunt will please take notice, that a Bag Fox will be started this morning about 10 o'clock near the Burnt House."

The town of Baltimore was small in those days and the meets could be reached with little time wasted. Fayetteville, the country seat of James McHenry, afterwards became Alexandrofsky, the property of the Winans family on Baltimore Street at Fremont; Beverly's Hotel, which opened about this time, was located at Baltimore and Gay Streets; and George Grundy's country place is now the site of the Fifth Regiment Armory.

John Pendleton Kennedy writes of fox-hunting at North Point, and two early visitors to Baltimore—Frederick Gustavus Skinner, the author and sportsman, and Tyrone Power, the Irish comedian—both tell of the jokes leveled at one of the huntsmen who had retreated ignominiously before the advancing British over the same ground in 1814.

A Sporting Family of the Old South, in which Mr. Harry Worcester Smith has compiled the writings of F. G. Skinner, gives several instances where the Baltimore Hunt is mentioned. In a letter dated 1879 Skinner writes: "Like all southerners reared on the farm and plantation, my father [John Stuart Skinner] was born with a love of field sports, but his passion was fox-hunting, and for many years he hunted regularly with the Baltimore and Washington City Hounds." In an article first published in *Turf, Field and Farm*, he

says: "In my younger days the cities of Baltimore, Washington, Annapolis, and doubtless many others, had their hunting kennels within the corporate city limits, and I have hunted with the three first mentioned while yet far down in my teens." In the *American Turf Register* in 1829 the author of "A Morning with the Baltimore Pack of Hounds" writes: "As we passed from the fumes of the town fairly over the hills into the country, we saw the 'king of day' rising in the east, and as with the wand of Midas, turning everything he touched with gold, and presenting to the view a scene, that for gorgeousness and brilliant effulgency, I thought I had never before witnessed." After describing the chase, he adds:

It was evident that their game could not have stood up half an hour longer, but it was supposed that the old rogue had about daylight put a crippled fat canvas-back under his belt. If *he* did not, I know who did, not many hours after by the Grace of God and a good friend in Gay Street; the flavor thereof being in nowise injured, by first a bottle of the genuine J. C. and then another of the good old bang-up T—— wine; with such in his cellar, who would not gladly fill the office of—Butler.

This clearly shows that a Baltimore Hunt Club was active as late as the eighteen-twenties, although it is impossible to know whether or not the membership was the same as that of the earlier club.

After a number of years, in another article in *Turf, Field and Farm*, Skinner again mentions the Baltimore Hunt when he describes the Richmond Fox Chase which took place in the autumn of 1888. He writes: "Some 30 or 40 in number followed close on the hounds from start to finish and did some splendid riding. . . . Mr. Swan Latrobe, M. F. H. of the Baltimore Hunt, rode in the first flight." However, Swan Latrobe at this time was Master of the Elkridge Hunt which had come into being about ten years before.

Can it be that the Elkridge Hunt Club is the direct descendant of the Baltimore Hunt Club of 1793? Should it be possible to prove this, Elkridge, the oldest club of its kind in Maryland, would add a hundred years, more or less, to its history and would be second only in age to the Rose Tree Hunt Club, a descendant of the Gloucester Hunt which was founded near Philadelphia in 1766, conceded to be the oldest existing fox-hunting club in the United States.

IMPROVEMENTS ON "COLE'S HARBOUR," 1726

By WILLIAM B. MARYE

What is one man's loss is another man's gain. His futile attempt to escheat "Cole's Harbour," which was frustrated by a caveat filed by Charles Carroll, grandfather of the "Signer," doubtless cost Edward Fell a pretty penny, but it resulted in there being preserved for posterity a description of the improvements as they existed on that extensive property (long since wholly covered by the City of Baltimore) three years before the town was laid out on this same land. One gets the impression of a large tract of land developed to as full an extent as was reasonably to be expected, if allowance is made for time and place, as well as for natural advantages. Baltimore, of course, grew and spread over no wilderness, but over the graves of many plantations. It is worthy of note, however, that, in 1729, unpatented land might still have been found between the site of North Avenue and the Basin.

To attempt to identify the improvements which existed on "Cole's Harbour," as described in Fell's unpatented certificate, is fruitless in most cases. We know that one Fleming lived as a tenant or overseer in a "quarter" located on that part of the land where the town was laid off. His house is alluded to in certain old depositions published in this magazine.¹ The mill referred to in Fell's certificate can be no other than Hanson's earliest mill, which was situated on Jones's Falls, a short distance above the ford of the old Philadelphia or Old Main Road, which crossed the Falls near what is now the intersection of Bath Street and the Fallsway, just at the upper end of the remarkable loop of the Falls, which was later eliminated by an artificial channel. The land on which this mill was erected, part of "Cole's Harbour," was conveyed to Jonathan Hanson by Charles Carroll, on June 9, 1711. Other improvements, described as "old," may well have dated from the time of James Todd, or even of Captain David Jones. The last named, who gave his name to Jones's Falls, acquired "Cole's Harbour" in 1679² and was a resident on the land in 1682.³ He died in the spring of

¹ "Depositions in the Land Records," beginning, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XIX, p. 261.

² In his genealogy of the Gorsuch and Todd families Dr. J. Hall Pleasants has gone most thoroughly into the early history and title of "Cole's Harbour." See *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIV, 433-438; XXV, 93-96.

³ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber I. R. No. A. M., folio 185; Sarah Gorsuch to David Jones, August 1, 1682, "Coles Harbour," 550 acres, "being ye plantation

1686/7. This was the land to which he refers in his will as his dwelling plantation. There appears to be no documentary evidence for the statement that he lived beside the Falls, where the old Main Road crossed that stream and where Hanson later built his first mill. This statement is made by Griffith in his *Annals of Baltimore*. I consider it more likely that his house was somewhere immediately adjacent to the north shore of the Basin. This would have been more according to custom in the case of a planter whose land bordered on a tidal river. However, if Griffith is right, then it is possible that the "old field by the ffalls," which is called for in the deed, Hurst to Colegate, October 13, 1701, may have lain about the site of Jones's dwelling.⁴

In his petition to the Land Office for a warrant to escheat "Cole's Harbour," Edward Fell recalls the fact that this land, originally laid out for 550 acres, was surveyed for Thomas Cole, August 28, 1668, and afterwards, by descent, conveyance, etc., "became the Right of a Certain David Jones who by his Last will and Testament in writing Devised the same (after the Death of his wife) unto his sister Elizabeth Jones which said Elizabeth Jones (Since the Death of the said David's wife) Likewise dyed possessed Intestate and without heirs by which means the said Land became escheat."⁵ This statement, if correct, disposes of one explanation of the manner in which James Todd became possessed of "Cole's Harbour," one of the great mysteries connected with Baltimore land titles, though long since without any legal significance. It was surmised that Todd married Jones's sister, Elizabeth. James Todd, who was a son of Mrs. David Jones by a former husband, Captain Thomas Todd, had executed a resurvey on "Cole's Harbour," February 16, 1698, re-naming the land and calling it "Todd's Range," and later obtained a patent for the same.

It would appear that Fell's alleged "vacancy," except for a trifling amount on the north-west side of the Basin, included no land not supposed to have been included in the original patent and within the bounds of Todd's resurvey. This will account for the highly improved state of the "vacancy," which occupies a broad strip along the western and northern sides of the land. Fell's resurvey was executed September 21, 1726.⁶ The plat filed by the surveyor is interesting in that it shows, though roughly and on a

or yt Divident of land the sd. David Jones now Live upon," said land having formerly (1679) been made over to said Jones by said Sarah's husband, Charles Gorsuch.

⁴ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber H. W. No. 2, folio 196.

⁵ Land Office, Annapolis, Md., Warrants, Liber D. D., 1726-1729, folio 1.

⁶ Land Office, Annapolis, Md., Unpatented Certificate No. 516, Baltimore County.

small scale, the original shore line on the north side of the Basin, as it existed before Baltimore Town was laid out. The surveyor, as it was customary in the case of escheated lands, filed a description of the improvements on, and the state of cultivation of, the land, of which the following is a true copy:

Note ye Land is Midling and about one halfe clear'd: on ye originall survey is one very good Water mill with a brick Chimney to ye house. . . . Two Dwelling houses about 25 foot each about one quarter Worne; one verry good Store house plank floors and Two rooms: one ould forty foot tobacco house one forty foote toc^o house halfe Worne sixty seven ould apple Trees in an Orchard and about three thousand fence Loggs sett up in Corne field and pasture fence. . . . On the Vacancy added is one verry good Dwelling house about 25 foot Long 18 foot Wide framed & shingle^d Two storry highe; upper & Lower Rooms plaster'd & hansomly finish'd With a verry good Seller stone wall'd one brick Chimney With a Chamber^d Chimney: one Kitchen about 20 foot Long & 15 foot broad with a brick Chimney and brick Oven in it: a Middle Lodging Room Joining both ye above s^d houses together With a passage from one to ye other plank floor and brick Chimney in it; a paild garden in good Repair; one sixteen foot Dwelling house: one fifteen foot Ditto: one old 30 foot Ditto three verry good Store houses plank floors and seald & well fitted. . . . Two 30 foot Tobc^o houses one verry good 50 foot Ditto: one Stable one Milke house one Henn house one small Meat house; seventy three bearing apple Trees Regularly planted one Meddow Well Cultivated & sow'd with Clover grass (&c) about 5 acres . . . about 2500 fence loggs sett up in Corne field Orchard and Meddow fence.

EVOLUTION OF COLONIAL MILITIA IN MARYLAND *

By LOUIS DOW SCISCO

From the previous experiences of early English colonies it was known to the founder of Maryland that, from the very beginning, his own colonists must be armed and alert against Indian attack, and that they must have competent military leaders. In his first instructions, therefore, Lord Baltimore required that his people should be "mustered and trained in military discipline." In the list of principal colonists given in the *Relation of Maryland* appears the name of Captain John Hill, the only person in the group who bears a military title. It is a fair supposition that he had been chosen as the captain of the new colony.

Colonization was effected at St. Mary's in March, 1634, "within a pallizado of 120 yards square." Whether or not Hill was then present does not appear by any specific mention. Three months later there are indications that Thomas Cornwallis had become captain of the colony. At that time Governor Leonard Calvert had occasion to visit Virginia, taking with him two of his chief advisors. A shipmaster who met them there wrote that Calvert's companions were Captain Henry Fleet and Captain Thomas Cornwallis. The appearance of Cornwallis with a military title seems to mean the acquisition of military duties, for he was merely "Mr. Cornwallis" when listed by the *Relation of Maryland*. Captain Fleet, it may be said, had assumed his title several years earlier.

Nowhere in the records is the military unit at St. Mary's described with any detail. The constant use of the term "trained band" shows that it was modeled on the English militia unit of that name. At first it was officered only by a captain and sergeant. In all the earlier English colonies the captain of militia was a person of importance and responsibility. It was his duty to see that each householder had his proper outfit of arms and ammunition, and that each colonist had such instruction as would make him able to do his part in time of danger. This was true at St. Mary's as well as in other colonies. The sergeant of the trained band did much of the actual instruction and usually served as company clerk. In war time he was expected to lead some part of the fighting force. In Maryland the trained band was wholly a defensive force and not a mobile

* The sources for this account are chiefly the *Archives of Maryland* and the *Narratives of Early Maryland*, edited by C. C. Hall.

unit for field service. When it happened from time to time that armed parties were sent out for service they were recruited as temporary service units under leaders appointed for the occasion. Thus, in 1635 Captain Henry Fleet led a party to the Patuxent River to protect trade conditions.

By the beginning of 1638 the St. Mary's settlement was expanding to form outlying groups, and in consequence two sergeants were named for the trained band. Sergeant Thomas Baldrige trained the settlers at St. Mary's, while Sergeant Robert Vaughan headed those who had formed St. George's Hundred. In this same year the whole colonial structure was changed by the forced annexation of Kent Island settlement, which had its own administrative and military arrangements to be fitted into the general plan of government.

The Kent Island settlement was founded in 1631 by William Claiborne of Virginia. In so doing he acted as agent for a syndicate of London merchants, in whose venture he held a minor share. This syndicate had legal authority to carry on trade, but it had none for exercising government. Local organization, therefore, avoided the terms of civil offices and took on those of military usage. In his agency contract Claiborne had been termed "chief commander" and he used that title. For subordinates he had a lieutenant and a sergeant. Claiborne's term as commander ran from 1631 to 1637. His lieutenants were Arthur Figges, Richard Popely, and Ratcliffe Warren successively. Hugh Heyward continuously held place as sergeant. It was this Lieutenant Warren who was killed in 1635 in a fight at Pocomoke with a St. Mary's boat party led by Captain Cornwallis.

Made aware of Lord Baltimore's territorial rights, the London merchants in 1636 sent over Captain George Evelyn as commander to supersede Claiborne and the latter yielded control in May, 1637. Evelyn then acknowledged the St. Mary's government as paramount and from it he received commission of December 30, 1637, which formally conferred on him the title of commander and thus clothed the office with a legal authority which hitherto it had lacked. This commission provided for a local court in Kent, of which the commander was to be the head, but it seems to have left to Evelyn the same combined civil and military direction that had been in Claiborne's hands.

Evelyn's new commission clarified matters so far as legal authority was concerned, but Kent people stood out firmly against any actual submission to St. Mary's. In February, 1638, Captain Cornwallis quietly sailed out from St. Mary's with an adequate force, seized by

surprise the two Kent forts, and established proprietary rule on the island. In the conciliatory adjustment that followed, the unpopular Evelyn withdrew to St. Mary's and Robert Philpot, a Kent man, was made commander in his stead. John Boteler, another Kent man, brother-in-law of Claiborne, was made captain of the island's "military band." At this time the island had 120 men able to bear arms and the captaincy was important. Thus Kent County came into being, having its own special executive and its own military force. William Brainthwaite succeeded Philpot as the commander later in this same year, by a commission of October 22.

Meanwhile, at St. Mary's the militia has scant notice in the records. In January, 1638, Captain Robert Wintour came to the colony and was one of the leading officials, but for only a few months, his death taking place about September. There seem to be implications that he was captain of the trained band in this interval, but no definite statement of the sort. In March, during his supposed incumbency, the Assembly passed an act "for military discipline," the text of which has not been preserved, as all the acts of this Assembly were vetoed by the proprietor. The Assembly of 1639, however, passed an act which had the same title and probably the same content. It required that every household should have arms and ammunition proportionate to the males qualified for military service. The trained-band captain could make house visitations in search of such arms and if he found them insufficient or in bad condition he could impose fines on the householder. If there were no arms in a house the captain could supply what were needed and could collect therefor a price which must not afford him more than 100 percent profit. In case of alarm at St. Mary's each fighter must join the force at the chapel and get orders. Another Assembly act of 1639 provided that the two sergeants of the St. Mary's force should have certain fees for their work of training the militiamen.

In late 1638 Giles Brent appears in the colony records as Council member. Within a few months he was made treasurer, and soon after this, by commission of May 29, 1639, he became captain of St. Mary's trained band. In early 1640, at a moment when Indians were troubling, the governor sent him to Kent temporarily, with commission of February 3, 1640, making him commander there in place of Brainthwaite. Brent's absence from St. Mary's left the captaincy in abeyance there, and apparently Robert Vaughan took over command of the local force, for at this time he begins to be called Lieutenant Vaughan, a title not hitherto used at St. Mary's. On April 29 the Kent commandership was restored to Brainthwaite,

but Brent chose to remain on the island, where he acquired property and position. At St. Mary's the lieutenantancy of Vaughan continued for two years.

The next changes came in 1642. Brent, having settled himself at Kent, on January 12 was made county commander there. Meanwhile, St. Mary's had received as residents Colonel Francis Trafford and Captain William Blount. Trafford seems to have acquired no military duties, although in August he was sent to Virginia to arrange military co-operation against Indians. Blount was appointed on June 23 to be captain of St. Mary's. About the time of Blount's appointment Lieutenant Vaughan removed to Kent, leaving his vacated lieutenantancy to Thomas Baldrige. At Kent the militia presumably had remained in Captain John Boteler's charge from 1638 onward, until he died about June, 1642. Vaughan seems to have then taken over militia command, for he is officially styled "Lieutenant of our Isle and County of Kent."

Hardly had these adjustments been completed when, in August, the Susquehannas raided the upper Patuxent. The Assembly, meeting in September, 1642, authorized a punitive expedition and Captain Brent was given special commission to raise part of the new force in Kent. He went at once to Kent for the purpose and there learned that Brainthwaite had superseded him as commander of the county. Brent's subsequent efforts to raise men were without result, and he was accused of sabotage due to chagrin over losing office. His failure ruined the whole plan of an expedition, but in early December he had his day in court and was exonerated. On December 16 he was commissioned commander again.

In this time of alarm there is no hint of any dependable militia force. Following the Susquehanna raid the governor issued directions for St. Michael's and St. George's Hundreds, designating garrison houses for refugees and naming commanding officers for the occasion. Yet some sort of organization evidently existed, for the Assembly of September enacted that the sergeants in "every hundred" should have their fees for military instruction, proportioned to the number so instructed. Perhaps it was at this time that the two sergeantcies of the county were increased in number to provide one in each of the half-dozen hundreds.

Early in 1643 Governor Leonard Calvert decided to visit England. It was probably the growing civil war in the mother country that forced this desertion of office in the face of threatening hostility of savage tribes. Brent was called from Kent and on April 11, 1643, was made acting governor. The commandership of Kent probably

went to John Wyatt at this time, although Wyatt is not mentioned as such until later. Blount and Trafford disappeared about the time the governor sailed, probably going with him.

Brent, as governor, promptly filled Blount's place on April 17, by making Captain Thomas Cornwallis commander of St. Mary's County, presumably leaving Baldrige undisturbed as lieutenant. The innovation of a county commander at St. Mary's can be explained only by supposing that in a time of constant danger the capital needed an executive with special powers, and that Brent frankly copied the Kent model as best for the purpose. How long Cornwallis kept this office of commander does not appear. In September he led an expedition northward against the enemy Susquehannas and was defeated by them. On March 19, 1644, the St. Mary's captaincy was conferred by Brent upon William Bräinthaite and the wording of the commission seems to imply that he, too, was officially the county commander.

Governor Calvert returned to the colony in September, 1644, and relieved Brent from executive duty. On January 1, 1645, the governor commissioned Bräinthaite to be commander of Kent in place of Wyatt. Logically, it would be expected that Brent would have taken the captaincy at St. Mary's, but if any appointment was made to that position it is unrecorded. All the official records now extant, in fact, close abruptly in middle February, 1645, when Richard Ingle launched his revolution and the proprietor's government tottered. For a few weeks Governor Calvert struggled against the tide, but he was expelled by his antagonists.

From early 1645 to late 1646 the upset conditions of Ingle's rebellion continued, but its place in colonial history is almost a blank page to modern inquiry. In the extant records are found only unrelated scattered incidents. It is known that armed units roved here and there in the colony, but their character is unknown. No doubt some of them had a quasi-legal status of some sort. Thomas Baldrige led an insurgent foraging party at one time to gather supplies. Robert Vaughan is described as being made prisoner by insurgents led by one Thomas Bradnox, "captain of a crew of rebels." Nothing can be said of the militia in this interval. It is very doubtful if anything in the way of a militia system existed.

The interruption of proprietary government caused by Ingle's rebellion came to a close in late 1646. In December the expelled governor came back from Virginia with an armed force organized by him in that colony. He seized St. Mary's, made terms with the insurgents, and restored the proprietor's rule. Fort St. Inigo was

garrisoned with the incoming soldiers. Of this force Captain John Price was chief and his officers were Lieutenant William Lewis and Sergeant Marks Pheypo. Having quieted St. Mary's, the governor crossed the Bay in April and restored order in Kent. By commission of April 18, 1647, Robert Vaughan was installed as commander and captain of Kent. Pacification thus accomplished, the governor went back to St. Mary's and within a few weeks died there. It is not recorded that he revived the captaincy of St. Mary's.

Governor Thomas Greene, taking office in June by death-bed appointment from the late governor, found before him the problem of an armed garrison, no longer needed, but firmly planted until deferred wages were forthcoming. Eastern Shore tribes just then were threatening trouble and Greene sent against them an expedition which probably was recruited from the garrison, for Captain Price was leader and Lieutenant Lewis was his second. Soon after this, Lieutenant William Evans succeeded Lewis as garrison officer. The problem of garrison wages was settled finally by saddling the accrued burden upon the estate of the deceased governor. The soldiers were paid off in January, 1648, and the garrison disappears from the records as such, although many of its members remained as colonists.

When the Assembly met in March, 1648, it authorized a restoration of the county militia of St. Mary's. The governor was to appoint officers in every hundred, under whom the colonists were to be organized and trained. While there is no record of Greene's action to this end, the quick appearance of military titles shows that he was not dilatory in making the new militia a reality. The adopted plan apparently was to have a captain at St. Mary's and a lieutenant and sergeant in each of the hundreds. Captain John Price perhaps became head of the county force, Lieutenants William Lewis, William Evans, and Richard Banks are mentioned in 1648 and Nicholas Guyther in 1649. Toward the close of 1648 several new official commissions from Lord Baltimore reached the colony, showing that he, too, had given thought to militia matters. One commission made Captain Price muster master general, an office copied from English usage and equivalent to inspector general of militia. Another commission confirmed Robert Vaughan as commander of Kent, showing proprietary approval of that peculiar office. Further, both Price and Vaughan were made members of the Provincial Council.

Governor William Stone acceded early in 1649, under commission from Lord Baltimore. As in Greene's time, the records of Stone's militia appointments are lacking, leaving much to conjecture. In

the April Assembly the militia service was strengthened by the enactment that in each hundred the local unit should formulate its own rules for action in time of danger. Thomas Baldrige now is sometimes mentioned with the title of captain, which fact hints that he may have headed the St. Mary's force after Price became muster master general.

Early in 1650 Captain William Mitchell came to the colony, and in 1651 was advanced into the Council. This preferment and the constant use of his military title seem to imply that he had military duties, but there is no specific mention of such. Perhaps it was for him that the Assembly in April, 1650, authorized the use of St. Inigo's as a harbor fort with a garrison of six men under a captain, to be on duty whenever ships were in port. Nowhere is the captain of the fort indicated by name in subsequent proceedings. Mitchell's tenure seems probable but it is only conjecture.

Under Stone's rule the growing flood of incoming colonists brought an increase in the number of counties. Hitherto there had been only St. Mary's and Kent. New settlers were now taking the lands about Severn River, and in April, 1650, the Assembly authorized the new Anne Arundel County. Following this, in June of the same year, Robert Brooke brought a large party of colonists from England and bore with him Lord Baltimore's mandate that Brooke should be made commander of a new county to be created for him and his people. It came about, therefore, that when Anne Arundel was organized in July the governor commissioned Edward Lloyd to be its commander, and in 1651, when the governor erected Charles County on the Patuxent, Brooke was its commander as the proprietor had ordered. Nothing is on record of the militia arrangements in these new counties. From the fact that neither of the commanders ever is mentioned with a military title it may be assumed that in each county a captain or lieutenant exercised militia direction. The records have occasional mention of the commanders as local executives. In political matters the creation of the new counties was soon to show an unexpected significance, for in both of them there developed a smouldering antagonism to proprietary rule that soon found a reason for coming into the open.

Under commission from the parliament government in England the control of Virginia had been taken over by Richard Bennet and William Claiborne. In March, 1652, they came into Maryland and by a stretch of their legal powers seized control of Maryland also. In this act they received the able support of Charles and Anne Arundel Counties. Their method of taking control in Maryland was

the creation of provincial commissioners who superseded the governor's council. In this new group were Colonel Francis Yardley and Captain Edward Windham. Both were Virginians who had earned their titles before they came to Maryland. Apparently neither had any military duties in the colony. Windham's name disappears almost at once. Yardley stayed in the colony about two years. Other members of the group were Robert Brooke of Charles County and Lieutenant Richard Banks of St. Mary's. After a time Captain John Price was also a member.

The whole colony submitted to the new government, but there seems to have been some doubting of Kent. In July, 1652, when the Kent court was re-commissioned, Commander Vaughan's name was omitted, but later in the year Vaughan was again accorded his title, presumably meaning restoration to office. Amidst these changes there may have been shiftings of militia leaders but the trained bands remained. In March, 1653, at a time when settlers feared Indian raids, it was ordered that a defensive force should be recruited out of the trained bands of "St. Maries, Charles County and Patuxent River."

Although Governor Stone had accepted the new conditions in June, 1652, and was working in amity with his opponents, the proprietor in England insisted that the governor should enforce proprietary rule. In February, 1654, the governor yielded to his insistence and restored proprietary forms, which he maintained precariously for five months. Vexed by Robert Brooke's support of his opponents, Lord Baltimore now ordered the dismissal of Brooke from the office of commander. Stone executed this order by abolishing Charles County and creating Calvert County in its place. About the same time the use of the commander's title ceased in Anne Arundel, although no abolition of it is recorded. Stone's five months of proprietary rule ended in July, 1654, when Bennet and Claiborne again faced him, backed by armed men from the insurgent counties. He was forced to resign the governorship.

With Stone out of the way the parliament commissioners again established government by Provincial Commission. In the new group Anne Arundel was represented by Captain William Fuller, probably head of the Anne Arundel militia. The Charles County area was represented by Captain John Smith, who seems to have headed the Patuxent River militia. From St. Mary's was appointed Captain Robert Slye, who perhaps headed that county's forces. Kent began to be represented in October by Commander Philip Connier and Captain Robert Vaughan. It is not clear whether Vaughan's title was by courtesy or by right of militia command at this time.

In October, 1654, the new Provincial Commission held an Assembly. One of the acts of that body ordered that each county should have a captain and other officers for its militia, and the captains should view arms and train the inhabitants. Another act gave new names to Anne Arundel and Calvert, while St. Mary's was divided to form a new up-river area called Potomac County. For a time, however, the new county was to remain joined with St. Mary's in administration.

Under the Provincial Commission there followed seven months not troubled by open dissension. In this interval the militia makes no record of action and the identities of its officers may only be guessed. Toward the end of this time the Kent court received a new commission, dated March 1, 1655. Philip Connier was kept as commander and his specified powers included "the lawful and necessary use of the militia." About this time Joseph Wickes was made county captain with Thomas Hynson as lieutenant.

The rest period ended all too soon. Goaded on by the proprietor, the deposed governor, in March, 1655, declared a resumption of his former office and then, says an opponent, "gave several commissions to the papists and other desperate and bloody fellows to muster and raise men in arms." Stone's force, according to enemy accounts, was 250 men. John Price was its colonel, aided by Major Job Chandler. Under them were Captains Thomas Gerrard, William Lewis, Josias Fendall, and Nicholas Guyther. Lieutenant Richard Banks was put in charge of some fort, probably St. Inigo's. The anti-proprietary party also raised a force, said to have been 107 men. Captain William Fuller was in command, but his officers are not listed. On March 25 the two forces met at Severn River, where 40 men were killed and Stone was brought to surrender. Stone's officers were held prisoner for a time and Captain Lewis was one of four men executed after the battle.

Following the Severn fight the Provincial Commission re-established its power in the counties that had supported Stone and on April 24 the Commission named militia captains therein. Captain Richard Hodskeys had the district from Point Lookout to Clement Bay, which was probably the extent of St. Mary's County. Captain John (*sic*) Slye had the area from Clement Bay upward, which probably was the Potomac County of that time, and he also was made president of the county court serving both counties. Captain Samson Waring's district was on the Bay, extending from Herring Creek southerly an unstated distance, apparently corresponding to Calvert alias Patuxent County. Two captaincies were created for the

Patuxent Valley, despite the Assembly act that allowed only one captain to a county. Captain Peter Johnson had the upper river and Captain John Smith the lower river. Smith also was made muster master general and "captain in chief." Richard Ewen of Anne Arundel began to be mentioned as captain in May, 1655, which may mean that he was then captain of his county. On August 13, 1655, the Commission ordered that the Patuxent captains should enforce attendance at militia musters and should disarm any inhabitants suspected of disaffection toward the ruling power.

About this time the records reveal various holders of titles who have no apparent connection with the colony's militia. John Russell of Kent was regularly called Captain Russell from October, 1655, onward. He may have earned the honor by leading the Kent contingent at Severn fight, for there is no hint that he ever held the county captaincy. Major John Billingsley and Major John Hallowes were Virginians who often appear in Maryland records. Captain John Barrief, who died in the colony, may also have been a Virginian.

Late in 1655 Captain John Smith died and early in 1656 Captain Peter Johnson followed him. Because of these deaths, no doubt, the militia of Patuxent River became disorganized. In March, 1657, the Commission corrected this by appointing three captains to carry on, namely, Woodman Stockley for the settlers above the Brooke plantation, Henry Keene for the settlers below that point, and Philip Morgan for the area along the Bay. Morgan was made a member of the Commission. Evidently there were other militia appointments which do not appear on the existing minutes, for Lieutenants Philip Thomas of Calvert and Richard Woolman of Anne Arundel were put into the Commission in this year. Captain Thomas Besson of Anne Arundel appeared in the Assembly in September, his rank suggesting that he had followed Ewen as county captain. Lieutenant Richard Smith was made attorney general of the province this year but the source of his military title does not appear.

In 1658 the see-saw of politics again brought a shift of official powers. In England the lord proprietor came to an understanding with the insurgent party, and in the colony the new pact was put into effect on March 24 by Josias Fendall, who made a treaty with his opponents on that date and at once assumed the governorship by authority of the proprietor's commission to him. Fendall reorganized the Provincial Council and included in it Captain John Price, sometimes now called Colonel Price by courtesy because of

his recent service with Stone at Severn. Whether Price resumed his office of muster master general is not clear. Anne Arundel and Calvert resumed their former names. Potomac County lapsed, being now an illegal entity, but very soon the new Charles County was created in its place.

In June and July, 1658, the militia was re-organized by Fendall. On July 12 were created two regimental areas divided by Patuxent River. In the southern regiment Fendall assumed command, apparently as captain-general of the province, for he never is termed colonel in the records. No major of the regiment is mentioned. The district from Point Lookout to St. George's River is not listed. Possibly its militiamen formed the governor's own company. From St. George's to Poplar Hill was a new district under Captain Richard Banks and Lieutenant William Kennedy. From Poplar Hill to Wicomico River a new district was under Captain William Evans and Lieutenant John Jarbo. From Wicomico River upward, in the new Charles County, the earliest mentioned captain is John Jenkins. James Lindsey was lieutenant. The date of Jenkins' appointment is not stated, and he is first noticed as such in 1659. On Patuxent River the lower part was assigned to Captain Henry Hooper and Lieutenant Henry Keene, but Hooper's absence from the province caused John Odbur to be substituted for him. The upper river was assigned to Captain Thomas Brooke and Lieutenant John Bogue. In Charles County, William Battin begins to be called captain about this time, but there is no hint of militia service by him. He lived at Patuxent in 1655 and may have been one of Fuller's captains at the Severn fight.

In the northern regiment Nathaniel Utie was colonel and Richard Ewen was major. In all the area from Severn River northward there was but one militia company. Of this company Colonel Utie was nominal head, but John Cumber, as captain-lieutenant, was in actual command. From Severn River to South River was a district under Captain Thomas Howell and Lieutenant John Collins. At South River was a company under Major Richard Ewen and Lieutenant Alexander Gordon, which may have included the area south to the county line. Kent County had its own long-established company, which now was put under Captain Thomas Bradnox and Lieutenant Thomas Wetherell.

The local captains were instructed to list all residents of 16 to 60 years of age who were able to bear arms, and from such lists they were to pick enough men to make up the trained bands under their several commands. They must inspect householders' arms and

see that each family has its proper outfit. They were to hold monthly musters and fine absentees. These fines should be used to buy drums and colors, and then, "after such provision made, to make the company drink at their meetings to muster."

The adoption of regimental organization was a milestone in the history of the provincial militia. It was a step forced by the increase of local units to a point where some sort of regional supervision was needed for efficiency. Massachusetts led the colonies in this respect, creating county regiments in 1643. Virginia came next, creating county regiments in 1651. Connecticut in 1653 adopted a makeshift organization of regimental character. Maryland was the fourth colony in point of time.

ROBERT MILLS AND THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT IN BALTIMORE

(Continued from Vol. XXXIV, page 160.)

II. BUILDING THE COLUMN

Six years elapsed between the selection of Mills' design and the completion of the column of the monument. The first step was the acquisition of ground as a site for the memorial. The location chosen was a hill in Howard's Woods, the property of Col. John Eager Howard, at the head of Charles Street, and the intention was to provide a sylvan setting for the structure. The following letters from Robert Gilmor to Mills throw light on the negotiations for the land.

GILMOR TO MILLS

Baltimore 7th August, 1814¹

Sir,

I duly received your letter handing the sketches of plans for Col. Howard's lot, which I shewed to our Committee, who appeared much pleased with it, and agreeably to their directions, I inclosed them with your letter in a note to the Colonel himself for inspection & approbation. I should long since have written you in reply but I wished to ascertain first what likelihood there was of our succeeding in obtaining his consent to fixing our monument on his grounds. I met him in the street the other day when he told me he would examine into his ability to gratify us as soon as he got his land papers from the County, where he sent them for safety on the approach of the enemy. I have very little doubt but he will agree to give us the center of crossing streets, but what sure space I cannot say. I have sent all the agreements I am master of to him & his son John (who having been in Europe has some idea of the beauty of such places & the advantages of such distribution of ground) and they appear willing to adopt. . . . The lot is larger than 600 feet square which is an advantage as the space wanted can better be spared.

I have shewn your new elevation to Mr Buchanan & others who . . . approve of it but we have had no regular meeting for a long time, as our city has been at [wit's end] on account of the military situation at this period, & Mr. Buchanan has been engaged by the Committee of . . . of which he is a member. . . .

I am yours, Sir

R. Gilmor

¹ From the collection of Mills papers in the possession of Mr. Richard X. Evans of Washington, D. C.

GILMOR TO MILLS

Baltimore 21 January 1815 ²

Dear Sir,

I have received your two letters of 29 Dec^r & inst. with the elegant little design of Mr. Kid, all which have been submitted to my colleagues, particularly Mr. Buchanan (except the last letter).

I have made frequent applications to Col. Howard for the lot in question, but he continues to answer me in the same manner, "that his papers are not yet received from the County & till he secures them he cannot decide upon what he would do in our favor." He is however extremely friendly to us & I have little doubt of our success in obtaining a site in his park. It is not of much consequence now to press him on the subject any further, as the Committee have determined for the present to suspend all proceedings towards the erection of the monument, as the uncertain state of our city now the spring is approaching will not warrant any steps of the kind, & I much fear that the state of our . . . expenses appears as a difficulty of completing . . . the sum that will be required by lottery is considerably increased in these troublesome times. . . .

I am pleased that you are advancing in your plans & estimates, but I would have you to decide upon the final precise plan, as that can only be determined when the committee feel themselves authorized to proceed with the building. They do not see the necessity of models of the monument, and would decline for the present at least going to the expense of one. They presume that your plan will be fully sufficient to work by, but this will be settled more satisfactorily in convention with you, when you chance to be in Baltimore on your way to Virginia.

I believe I mentioned in a former letter that I had some objections to the nature of the . . . in the last drawing, and indeed, it becomes a matter of doubt to me whether a solid pedestal will not be better . . . but all this is a matter of consideration when the final decision of the plan comes before us. . . .

I shall attend to your wish to have the little drawing back again, & I shall send it by the first good private friend.

I have delayed replying to your request for permission to draw of the committee for money till I could see Mr. Buchanan, who is certainly the most influential man in it. He has just had your letter & agrees in opinion with me, that it would be better for you not to have the proposition made to the committee, as it might subject you to a refusal on their part on account of the present situation of the funds which are locked up chiefly in stock, which you know is below its value & would be sacrificed if sold at this time. Besides we think that they would decline advances of all kinds except for materials, & things indispensibly necessary to go on with the building. We take it for granted you have not expended any money for our monument. I hope you will be able to do without any advance till we make a beginning worth attention,

I am

Dr. Sir,

Yours truly

R. Gilmor

² Evans collection.

Not long after this letter was written Colonel Howard presented the site for the monument and work was shortly under way. The next letters, from John Mowton, carpenter, to Mills, describe the early progress of the foundation, and the names of some of those assisting in the labor are mentioned. The references to a well seem to show that there was water at the site of the monument.

MOWTON TO MILLS

Monument Place ³Balt^e 31st May 1815

Sir

In my last I mentioned that McNulty with the advice of Mr Long, had commenced digging down Cha^s St, but I believe I omitted stating that he only opened it 40 feet in width; and unless it rains, it will be dug out by Saturday evening, or Monday at farthest.

Mr Wolfe promises to commence digging the Well today, and thinks he will come to good water before he comes to the depth generally contemplated (i. e. 80 ft.)

Mess^{rs} Fess & Clackner continue to haul stone regularly.

Mr Long has not sent me any person to work here, and no one has offered to me. If the committee intend enclosing the 200 ft square, there is a laborer at work with McNulty who [is] competent to do fencing . . . he is a man of small family, and would probably suit for the person you intend to employ to take care of the materials &c, and could remain always on the spot, for his sobriety and industry I can vouch for; but as it is probable you will arrive here this week you can see him, he will not leave McNulty except for the situation here.

respectfully

Your Ob^t Serv^t

Jno Mowton

MOWTON TO MILLS

Monument Place,⁴Baltimore, June 8th, 1815.

Sir:

Mr. McNulty is now progressing with the foundation, and unless prevented by bad weather will have it completed in the early part of next week. He has come to [a] vein of good building sand, which I have directed to be thrown aside for the use of the masons; he desires me again to mention his want of money for the purpose of paying his men who are at work here.

Mr. Wolfe has commenced the well, and progresses very fast. He expects

³ Evans collection.

⁴ Evans collection; printed in *The Federal Architect*, Vol. 8, no. 2 (Oct., 1937), p. 41.

to come to water this week; if he should want brick for the purpose of walling it up, before your return, I have directed him to provide them himself.

Steuart and Towson have given directions for their shop and wish it placed outside of the 200 ft. Square. Mr. Steuart told me he had spoken to Col. Howard, on the subject, who was satisfied it should be there provided he would pay the \$40 per annum he now receives for the park as a pasture, which I believe Mr. Steuart has consented to do rather than be confined in the limits marked out.

Respectfully,
Yr. obt. Servt.
Jno Mowton

Mr. Robt. Mills.

The dedication of the monument took place on July 4, 1815, and the cornerstone was laid by Levin Winder, Right Worshipful Grand Master of Masons, with Colonel Howard and General Samuel Smith, representing the Society of the Cincinnati, and Mayor Edward Johnson as official witnesses. In connection with the exercises, it is interesting to read a portion of Rembrandt Peale's recollections as set forth in *The Crayon* for 1856.

The designs in competition for the Washington Monument, erected in Baltimore, were displayed in the City Library, and comprised a great variety of excellent drawings from different cities; but the vote of the directors, influenced by respect for the fancy of their president, Robert Gilmore, selected that of Robert Mills, which was a column with an external staircase winding up to the top. This was ridiculed by all the artists of Philadelphia—much to the mortification of Mr. Mills. He called on me in Baltimore, to request my assistance in decorating three of his designs—columns of the same proportions—one with the external stairs, which I deprecated, and two others, variously ornamented. Not long after this, he called again, and confessed his embarrassment, as the corner-stone was about to be laid, and reference would be made to his design. I suggested a relief to the modest but afflicted artist. I got Henry Warren, scene-painter to the theatre, to represent, on a canvas eight feet high, the plain column which I preferred; on which I painted (instead of Mr. Mill's *Tripod*) a full-length figure of Washington. Early in the morning of the day of ceremony, Mr. Finlay, an upholsterer of taste, attached our painting against a tree, which fortunately stood over the spot selected for the corner-stone, placed under the pictured column one of my portraits of Washington, elegantly framed, surmounted and surrounded the whole with festoons of drapery and flags of the Union. The imposing procession of military and municipal officers, with bands of music, terminated their route at the appointed spot, which was crowded by a vast multitude. The orator of the day (I forget his name) pronounced an impressive eulogium on the occasion—and, pointing to our decorated trophy, which he doubtless supposed to have been placed there by the directors, declared the intention of the board "to execute the column *according to that design*." Mr. Mills,

hearing no remark on such a deviation from the original design, went on quietly, according to the orator's *accidental* decision, and Baltimore was spared the ridicule of the spiral stairs.

These remarks serve to show how unreliable memory may become during the course of years. Mills' design did not include any kind of external staircase, so he need have felt no embarrassment on that score. The canvas painted by Warren was described in Niles' *Weekly Register* as "a correct and beautiful representation of the monument to be erected." The orator of the day mentioned by Peale was James A. Buchanan, president of the board of managers, and no one except that architect himself would have been in a better position to know whether the Warren canvas was an accurate reproduction of Mills' design. It may be suspected, therefore, that Peale was exaggerating the importance of his advice on the subject.

The principal contractors for the work on the monument were Thomas Towson and William Steuart, marble masons. They agreed, on December 20, 1815, to do the marble work at certain specified prices, the stone to be procured in part from the quarry of General Charles Carnan Ridgely, who had just been elected governor of Maryland. The text of the contract is interesting for the details included. It indicates that Mills exercised almost complete authority over the entire project.

Articles of Agreement ⁵ made and concluded this twentieth day of December in the Year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and fifteen, between the President and Managers of the Washington Monument on the one part, and Thomas Towson and William Steuart Marble Masons and Contractors for executing the Marble and Free Stone work of the said Monument and James Sloan sureties for the said Towson and Steuart, jointly and severally, on the other part.

Whereas, the said President and Managers of the said Monument intend to erect a certain Building for a Monument to the Memory of Gen^l. Geo: Washington in Monument Place, at the intersection of Charles and John Streets, Howard Park, precincts of the City of Baltimore, and to employ in the erection of the said Building, and in its decoration, a quantity of work in Marble, And whereas, the said Towson and Steuart are willing, and do hereby undertake and contract to provide, cut and set the same in the said Building, in the best and most workman-like manner, and agreeably to the designs, and under the direction of Robert Mills, Architect.

Now therefore it is agreed by and between the said parties hereunto and in the manner and form following.

On the part of the President and Managers it is covenanted and agreed with the said Towson and Steuart.

1st. That in consideration of the work hereby stipulated to be done, and

⁵ From the collections of the Historical Society.

on the conditions hereinafter specified, the said President and Managers will pay or cause to be paid unto the said Towson and Steuart, from time to time, such sums of money, as the state of the work shall justify, of which the said Robert Mills shall be the judge.

2^d. The said President and Managers also agree to procure for the use of the said Towson and Steuart, the Marble quarry belonging to Gen^l. Charles Ridgley for the purpose of supplying as much Marble as may be requisite for the erection of the Base of the Monument, beginning at the height of six feet above the pavement of the Street.

3^d. The necessary scaffolding and apparatus for hoisting the Stone, Clamps and lead are to be furnished the said Towson and Steuart, by the President and Managers.

And on the part of the said Towson and Steuart and their sureties it is hereby covenanted and agreed with the said President and Managers as follows, to wit.

1st. That in consideration of the said sums to be to them duly paid, and at the periods above recited, they shall and will at their own proper cost and expense provide all the Marble required in the erection of the said Monument, of the quality and sizes stated in the annexed schedule, and cut the same agreeably to the designs of the said Robert Mills, in the best and most workman-like manner, setting the same in its place in the Building, preparing and having it ready with all despatch employing not less than fifteen stone cutters daily at the work, providing all the requisite tools and utensils, labor and hauling of all kinds required in removing, preparing and setting the same.

2^d. Should the Stone of Gen^l Ridgley's quarry not continue sufficiently good for the purposes aforementioned, the said Towson and Steuart further agree to furnish Marble of the quality required in its place, at an addition to the prices hereinafter to be mentioned, of fifteen cents per foot.

When the work is finished, the whole shall be measured and valued agreeably to the schedule and description of prices hereunto annexed, and should the parties not agree upon the valuation of such work done not herein determined each party shall chuse one person of experienced knowledge, who, if they disagree shall chuse a third, to whom all matters in dispute shall be referred, and whose award shall be final, excepting only, that the said Robert Mills or his successor shall be the sole judge of the quality of the material and work, and of their conformity to the terms of this agreement.

Schedule and description referred to in the preceding agreement dated. . . .

Materials

Basement. 1st. Six feet above the pavement to be of the Grey Marble.—

2^d. Above this to the commencement of the Column, the best quality from Ridgley's quarry is to be used.—3^d. The whole of the Column is to be of the whitest and best quality Marble from Scott's quarry.

Prices

	pr foot	
	\$	cents
Marble ashler, square, of the Grey marble from 15 to 18 inches rise tooled on the face from 9 to 12 inc ^s on the bed.	1	40
Marble of the best quality, Ridgley's, 9 inch bed, 12 inch face, tooled	1	50
Do. do. do 12 do.	1	55
Do. do. do 15 do.	1	60
Circular Marble ashler rubbed on the face, of Scotts, or such like solid Stone measured as plain or square work, 12 inches on the bed, and 12 inches on the face.	1	90
Do. 15 do. do 15 do.	1	95

Fixing the above work

For the first fifty feet in height, fifteen p^r cent on the prices p^r foot. From fifty to one hundred feet twenty p^r cent on the price p^r foot. All above one hundred feet, twenty five p^r cent on the price p^r foot.

In witness whereof the parties hereunto
set their hands and seals, this twentieth day of December
in the Year of our Lord, One thousand eight hundred and fifteen.

Signed in the presence of

Geo W^m. Murdoch

Rob^t. Mills.—

Levi Long

W^m. Steuart (Seal)

Tho^s. Towson (Seal)

Ja^s. Sloan (Seal)

J. A. Buchanan (Seal)

President of the Board of Managers

The minor contracts ⁶ for work on the monument show the kinds of work to be performed and the prices to be paid for them. They were signed by Mills and S. Smith Nicholas as witnesses.

November 23, 1815. Michael Warner, Brickmaker, to supply the best quality hard burnt bricks with a proportional quantity of paving bricks for the groins of the arches and facing the interior of the column, at \$9 per 1000 bricks.

January 3, 1816. Robert Tuxworth, Carpenter and Laborer, to perform work as required and to care for the building and its materials, to live on premises, at \$300, paid in installments during the year.

⁶ Collections of the Society.

January 10, 1816. Sater Stevenson, Jr., Stonemason, to perform all rough stone and brick work, former at \$1 per perch ($24\frac{9}{12}$ ft.), latter at \$3.25 per 1000 bricks.

January 16, 1816. James C. Dew and James Q. Grimes, Lime merchants, to supply the best lime with ten days' notice, at 40¢ per bushel.

The next papers are Mills' accounts of the expenditures on the monument in 1816 and 1817. The second is noteworthy because it lists the bills under subject headings, and it is possible to see how much was spent on each division of the work up to the date of writing.

Robert Mills in a/c with the Washington Monument.⁷

Dr.		
1816		
July 4 th .	Cash received at different times for the use of the Monument	# 25.850.
N. B. This \$25.850 does not include \$1000 pd. Mr. Mills for his own services—D[avid] W[inchester]		
Cr.		
1816		
July 4 th .	John Mowton & others for Carpenters work.....	520...
	Clackner & Toss for rough stone.....	1050 ..
	Sater Stevenson for rough stone & Brick work....	1380 ..
	John McNulty for sand, digging.....	500.38 $\frac{3}{4}$
	Rob ^t . Tuxworth for labor and services as overseer of premises.....	300...
	Mess ^{rs} Constable & C ^c . for lumber.....	1800...
	Sundry small bills.....	236.86
	Mott & Dew & Grimes for Lime.....	661.40
	Charles Hammel for plaistering.....	51.57
	Michael Warner for Bricks.....	450...
	Towson & Steuart for Marble & work.....	17250...
	Gossen & McKean for Black smiths work.....	459.41
	Rob ^t . Mills—for professional services.....	1000...
	W ^m Jackson extra digging to well.....	30...
		#25.689.62 $\frac{3}{4}$
Balance.....		.160.37 $\frac{1}{4}$
		#25.850.00

⁷ Collections of the Society.

Washington's Monument In account with Robert Mills Architect ⁸
December 31st 1817

Marble Mason

Towson & Steuarts Bill—Am ^r . pair pr Rtc ^t .		34990.
Balance due on their Bill up to this date	5636.87	

Stone

	Perches		
Clackner & Foss Receipt for	1413	3532.50	
Rob ^t . Mills . . . do. for 55 & Tho ^s . Mills for 100.	155	387.50	
		<hr style="width: 50%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>	3920.

Stone Mason

Sater Stevensons Receipt for laying Stone & Bricks	<hr style="width: 50%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>	2484.74
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Bricks

Michael Warners Rec ^t . \$1729.96.	J. Nagle 81.90	1811.86
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Lumber

Charles Constable & Co's Receipt	<hr style="width: 50%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>	2801.37
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Lime

	Bushels		B	
Dew & Grimes 1959	\$783.60.	J. Motte 46	18.40	1020.85
572	218.85.		<hr style="width: 50%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>	

Carpenter

John Mowton's Receipt	<hr style="width: 50%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>	746.93
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Blacksmith

Gossins Bill & Receipt \$334.41	Motte pr Receipt	17.57	351.98
John McKean's 1 July 507.63 & to 31. Dec ^r . 1817		261.82	769.45
		<hr style="width: 50%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>	

⁸ Collections of the Society.

Ironmongery			
J & C. Nielsons Rect. for	_____	_____	300.
Sand & digging			
John McNulty, Rect.	_____	_____	1370.
Salary			
R. Tucksworth Rect. for 21½ yrs overseeing & Labor \$300	_____	_____	750.
Bricklayer			
Aquilla Stallings Rect. 352.50.	Sampson 141 dys.	176.25	528.75
Contingent.			
Architect—Paid him at Sundry times—			3500.
Moulds. Dan ^l . Riffle \$118.50.	Ropes. W. Chalmers.	276.75	395.25
Well & Pump.—S. Wolfes rect. 326.71			
machines		124.50	451.21
Cordage, Blocks, Scaffolding & Lead, T & Steuarts rect.		526.74	
Lead, H. Allens Rect.		39.86	566.60
Advertising 9.95. Laborers. \$22. Plaisterer & barrow		57.57	89.52
104 Loads Sand \$52. Laborer 1.25. Pick paper & oil			
for Shop \$4			
putting up Blacksmiths Shop 7.25 Bricklayer \$10.			85.75
Blacksmith \$5. Advertising 2.25 Stubbins \$4.			
		Dels	56.934.26
To Balance due the Monument			1826.37
			58.762.63

Apparently Mills was ready to abandon his early design by 1818, for in a letter written in January of that year he recommended that the exterior galleries be omitted. Two points were involved: 1. the choice between an historical pillar and a simple monument; 2. the expense. When we learn that the cost of the column without decorations was estimated at \$500 per foot of height we realize how much the addition of galleries might have increased the total cost.

The Board of Managers ⁹
of the Washington Monument
Gentlemen

In submitting a statement of the expenses incurred in the erection of the Washington Monument to its present height I am justified in saying that half the real cost of the whole Column is included. I have pursued the plan of the 2^d. design which I had the honor to submit & which you were pleased to approve, embracing the full proportions of magnitude of the original design, but differing from it in respect to its detail, and its decoration, as it was your wish that I should keep the expenses of cost as near the appropriation as possible.—

So large an amount of expense being struck off the original design furnished the opportunity of throwing more of solidity into the body of the work, & neither labor nor materials have been spared to make the building as permanent as good materials could make it.—

I have turned my whole attention on the execution of the design to the accomplishment of the simple Column, being desirous to effect the completion of the plain building first, knowing from the nature & description of the decorations contemplated that it would be easy afterwards to attach these to any extent as circumstances may justify—

There is one particular that I would request your attention to, to bring the subject to a conclusion, it is in regard to the character of these decorations connected with the *Column*—By a reference to your minutes you will find that you have not decided whether the shaft of the Column shall be divided into compartments so as to embrace the original design of an historical pillar, or whether we shall abandon this idea altogether, and pursue the more simple character of a monument.— We have arrived at that height when it is necessary to determine whether we shall provide for the galleries contemplated in the original design,— If you will permit my professional opinion to have weight in this decision, I should certainly recommend that the galleries be omitted—Independent of the great expense that would result by their introduction, it may be a question whether we shall not be eliciting criticism, which from the novelty of the design, may not result in our favor.— By pursuing the 2^d. design, we shall I hope only present an object that shall afford pleasure without giving any cause of criticism—

Since the commencement of the work we have been much favored in meeting with no accident either to our people or the building, we trust for its continuance— No settlement has been observed in the building, the work remaining the same as the day it was put up.

The present height to which the monument is raised, is 53 feet above the level of the Foundations, and ^{ft}42.6ⁱⁿ above the pavement of Street.— As I before observed, I consider what has been done as fully equal in cost to what remains to be done to complete the Column— I could embrace more economy in the construction of the building, but I hope you will justify me in the permanent manner in which the work has been carried on— The average cost of one foot in height of the Column will be about 500\$ if we pursue the same solid mode of building already done—

⁹ Collections of the Society.

The progress of the Stone cutters during the two last months, and this winter will enable us I hope to raise the Column the ensuing season to 50 feet more than it now is— I should wish, if you could determine upon the character of decoration of the Column.— I cannot recommend any thing more simple than is exhibited in the 2^d design— If you will permit me to look forward to these I will make the necessary inquiries relative to their cost, and the practicability of getting them executed in our own Country— One of your board now in Europe (Rob^t. Gilmore Jr. Esq^r.) informed me before his departure that if I would send him some particulars relating to the decorations, he would ascertain at what cost they could be had in England & France— Before his departure I shewed him the character of decorations I intended to recommend to you, which he expressed his approbation of

In the hope that what I have done meets your approbation, I have the honor to salute you Gentlemen with sentiments of

respect & esteem

Robt. Mills

Baltimore Jany 12th 1818.

(To be continued.)

FOUR GENTLEMEN OF THE NAME—THOMAS MARSH

By EMERSON B. ROBERTS

Capt. Thomas Marsh, of Kent Island, with a residence also at Chestertown, and the fourth in a direct line from the Honorable Thomas Marsh, died at an advanced age during the early stage of the American Revolution. Each generation was represented by one Gentleman only, and they all bore the name of Thomas. The Captain was the last of the male line, the first held a seat in Council—Davis: *Day Star of American Freedom*.

The first Thomas Marsh, of Maryland, was an immigrant from Virginia, with his wife, Margaret, in 1649. He had come to Virginia in 1637, or earlier—one of those brought in by Thomas Holt.¹ First he settled in New Norfolk County, where there are a number of court references to him. More than thirty years ago, these were collected by the late Samuel Troth, of Philadelphia, and since they have never been published, they are recorded here. Thomas Marsh is mentioned several times as "alias Thomas Rivers," but the Virginia records yield no reason for this usage, and it is presumed, if the reason is ever found, it will be uncovered in the English records. The references are:

Thomas Rivers, alias Marsh, deposition at Linhaven, Lower County of Norfolk, July 7, 1637, aged twenty-one years.

Court, April 2, 1638, Thomas Marsh and George Lowe, as to the division of certain land.

Court, April 8, 1639, Thomas Marsh, "being about to go for England."

Court, November 16, 1641, deposition of Thomas Marsh, aged twenty-six years.

Court, December 15, 1642, Thomas Marsh, juryman.

Court at Thomas Meares', June 16, 1643, Thomas Marsh to pay an old bill.

Court, September 6, 1641, Thomas Marsh, constable, applies for one hundred fifty acres for transportation of self and wife, and also William Smith whom he bought of Mr. Flood.

Court, June 15, 1646, Thomas Marsh, the settlement of a debt.

The foregoing records are taken from the unpublished manuscript copy of the Court Record, now in the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond. Further Court Records, from another manuscript volume, follow:

Lower Norfolk County Court, April 2, 1638: "Whereas it doth

¹ Greer, *Virginia Immigrants*.

appear that Richard Loe, planter, hath bought of Thomas Marsh, planter, all his estate whatsoever here resident in Virginia . . . but Richard Loe not giving security, it remains in Thomas Marsh."

Court, October 4, 1641, "Thomas Marsh hath made appear to this Court that he hath due him 150 acres of land for the transportation of himself and his wife unto this colony as also one William Smith."

And in the Land Grant Records (Virginia Historical Society, Richmond), these items:

"January 6, 1638, Thomas Marsh, alias Rivers, one hundred fifty acres, Upper County of New Norfolk, northerly upon Elizabeth River. Assigned by Peter Montague, and payment to be made seven years after August 22, 1637, for transportation of William Jones, Thomas Redby, Margaret Harford." This land was originally patented to Peter Montague (Volume I, folio 463), and officially confirmed to Thomas Marsh, alias Thomas Rivers.

And the record of land grant to Thomas Holt, before mentioned, is as follows:

"To Thomas Holt, 22nd of May, 1637, 500 acres in the Upper County of New Norfolk, on the north side of the eastern branch of Elizabeth River, upon a creek adjoining lands of Thomas Renshaw, fifty acres for transporting himself, and four hundred and fifty for nine persons, viz. Thomas Marsh, James Arundell, Yoeman Gibson, John Drabe, William Smith, Toby Smith, Samuel Taylor, George Taylor, and Natl Corder."²

From these records, it appears that Thomas Marsh first came to Virginia not later than 1637, at the age of twenty-two, and that he returned to England for a brief visit in 1639, returning with a number of persons, among them Margaret Harford, whom he subsequently married, and that as early as 1638 he was endeavoring to liquidate his Virginia affairs. On his English origin no very serious study has yet been put. Mr. Troth, whose investigations have been mentioned, points to the Registers of St. Dunstan's—Stepney, in which there is record, September 10, 1610, of the marriage of Thomas Marsh, of Ratcliffe, shipwright, to Elizabeth Mayne, of Lymehouse, and asks if he may not be of the same family. Similarity of given names of the children of the two Thomas Marshes leads to this suggestion.

Thomas Marsh was a Puritan, and in Virginia he resided in the Puritan settlement. Surrounded by Royalists who were vastly in the

² Book No. 1, f. 423. See also *Virginia Historical Magazine*, VI, 192.

majority and completely in control of the affairs of the colony, the Virginia Puritans were subjected to a persecution which, while it may not have gone further than to be distinctly annoying, was sufficiently stringent to result in their seeking new homes in Maryland, where there was no persecution on account of religion. As a result, Maryland gained immigrants whose descendants have shed luster on her history.

The records of Lower Norfolk County, Virginia, for 1649, contain this entry:

Whereas, Mr. Edward Lloyd and Mr. Thomas Meeres, Commissioners, with Edward Selby, Richard Day, Richard Owens, Thomas Marsh, George Kemp, and George Norwood were presented to ye board by ye Sheriff for seditious sectuaries for not repairing to their Church, and for refusing to hear Common Prayer, liberty is granted till October next to inform their judgments and to conform themselves to the established law. . . .

However, before the expiration of the time allotted, Thomas Marsh and several of the others mentioned had removed to Maryland, and had established themselves in Calvert and in Anne Arundel Counties.

Of the migration of Thomas Marsh from Virginia to Maryland, there is evidence in the Maryland records. In the index of early settlers in the Land Office in Annapolis, 1648/9³ there is record of the coming of Thomas Marsh and his wife as among the "headrights" of William Durand. Neill, in his history of Maryland of this period, asserts that they were brought in as indentured servants of the said Durand, but there is nothing to substantiate this in the record, nor in the subsequent history of Thomas Marsh. It was quite common for those who arranged the coming of new colonists to claim "headrights of land," etc., and indeed, the use of this term itself indicates this limitation to the exclusion of the usual terms of service of indentured persons. It is not infrequent in the Maryland records to find two or more persons claiming "headrights" for the transportation of the same individual. Doubtless some of the early settlers moved about frequently, some returning to England, later coming back to Maryland at the expense of another who consequently claimed new "headrights." There may indeed have existed in some sections a sort of "headright land racket."

Thomas Marsh quickly attained established position in the Province of Maryland, and especially in Anne Arundel County on the Severn in the Puritan community. He took up lands in Herring

³ Liber ABH, folio 35; also *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VIII, 60.

Creek Hundred totaling more than a thousand acres. Among his neighbors were Richard Bennett, John Norwood and Edward Selby.

In the Rent Rolls of Lord Baltimore, there is recorded the survey for him, October 24, 1651, of one hundred fifty acres, "Marsh's Seat." Early he is mentioned not only as a planter, but as a merchant of Severn. Then he appears as Justice of the Peace for Anne Arundel County.⁴ His tact as a judicial officer is reflected in the report of one of the cases he tried. After effecting an arbitration between the two parties, and giving his award, he added, as his own donation, "a hogshead of sack, to be drunk between the parties."⁵ Of sack we remember what Falstaff says,

If I had a thousand sons, the first human principle I would teach them should be, to forswear thin potations, and to addict themselves to sack.

On July 30, 1650, Thomas Marsh was appointed by Governor Stone and the Council one of the commissioners of Anne Arundel County organized at that time.⁶ In 1651 "ague" was upon Kent Island, and Thomas Marsh, at least once in the record, is called a "chirurgion."⁷ His standing on Kent Island is reflected in the following minute from the Proceedings: "June 28, 1652, in the case of Captain Robert Vaughan. It is petitioned that Thomas Marsh or some other fitting and able person [be appointed] to the Office of Commander of the Isle of Kent."⁸ On January 22, 1651, "Thomas Marsh, Gent., of Kent, his mark of hoggs and Cattle: Both ears swallowtailed, and no other mark."⁹

The religious difficulties, too, that Thomas Marsh had met in Virginia seemed to follow him to Maryland, at least in a slight degree. In 1649, he was presented as a "seditious sectary,"¹⁰ but the matter seems to have had little attention from the Proprietor, who was uniformly liberal in his attitudes on matters of religion and conscience. The staunchness of Marsh's Puritanism, and his prestige during the ascendancy of the Protectorate, may be gleaned from Court Proceedings of Kent County, 1652:¹¹

Whereas, the reducing, settling, and governing of Virginia, and all English plantations within the Bay of Chesapeake, was referred to certain Commissioners, by Order from the Council of State for the Commonwealth of England:

⁴ Maryland Archives, III, 257.

⁵ Davis, *Daystar of American Freedom*, 120.

⁶ Maryland Archives, XXXI, 257; *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIV, 167.

⁷ Liber A #1, folio 11 and 36.

⁸ Archives III, 277.

⁹ Liber A #1, f. 7. See also Hanson, *Old Kent*, p. 20.

¹⁰ Archives, II, 83.

¹¹ Liber A, f. 66, and *Old Kent*, p. 28.

and Whereas, the Governor and Council for the Province of Maryland, in obedience and conformity of said order and power have authorized and deputed the persons whose names are hereunder subscribed for settling the Isle of Kent . . . [then come the names of those who are to constitute the Court] . . . to have power to hear and determine all differences, and to call Courts for that purpose as often as they see cause, to make choice of a Sheriff and a clerk for keeping Records, and execution of writs, and all other purposes, and to act in all things for the peace, safety, and welfare of the said Island, and the inhabitants thereof, as they or the former Commissioners did, or might do, by virtue of their commissions from the Lord Baltimore, and the Governor and Council of the Province under him.

Requiring all the inhabitants of the said Island to take notice of this Order, and to conform themselves accordingly, as they will answer the contrary at their peril.

Given under our Hands at the Island of Kent, the 31st day of July, 1652.

Ri Bennett	Thomas Marsh
Ead. Lloyd	Leo. Strong

In June, 1655, Thomas Marsh was Commissioner of the Provincial Court and a member of the Council, which office he held until his death.¹² The archives of Maryland for this year, 1655, and the year following, are replete with references to his official and public acts.

In 1653, Richard Bennett, Esq., Mr. Edward Lloyd, Capt. William Fuller, Mr. Leonard Strong, and Thomas Marsh were constituted by the regime of the Parliamentary Commission under the leadership of William Claiborne, then in ascendancy in Maryland affairs, a Commission to negotiate with the Susquehannock Indians. The instrument that resulted was decidedly in the interest of the Puritan settlers of the vicinity of Providence, located in the newly erected County of Anne Arundel. Seven days from the appointment of the Commission, the whole affair was concluded "at the River of Severn," and by the terms of it, the Indians gave up a great territory extending "from the Patuxent River unto Palmer's Island on the western side of the Bay of Chesapeake, and from the Choptank River to the northeast branch which lies to the northward of Elk River," in effect, giving the white man the whole of the head lands of the Chesapeake Bay country, and without any western boundaries mentioned. Solemn provisions for friendship, diplomatic relations, etc., were entered into, but apparently the Indians received nothing in return. Record of this treaty is to be found in *Maryland Archives*, Vol. III, page 276, and in *Proceedings of the Council*, Liber HH, folio 62.¹³

On Kent Island, Thomas Marsh's land by patent was "Poplar Neck," three hundred acres surveyed for him, August 20, 1652.¹⁴

¹² *Archives*, III, 316.

¹³ See also Bozman; *History of Maryland*, II, 452 and 683.

¹⁴ Rent rolls, Queen Anne's County.

Thomas Marsh's older children were by his first wife, Margaret Harford, whom he married in Virginia and brought with him into Maryland. These children were the son Thomas Marsh II, Margaret, and Elizabeth.

Margaret married, first, Richard Preston, Jr., son of "The Great Quaker," the first Richard Preston, who had settled, first in Virginia, then on the Patuxent, and during the Puritan regime, was the most powerful man in Maryland. Later, the Prestons removed to the region of the Choptank and the eastern shore. Richard Preston, Jr., died in 1669, and his widow, Margaret, married, second, in 1670, William Berry, of "Poplar Neck," of another distinguished Puritan family that had come from Virginia with the migration.¹⁵

Elizabeth, known as Elizabeth Marsh, of Severn, married, April 1, 1669, "at the house of John Webb of Potoxon," Thomas Taylor, of Kent County. Her descendants have been treated in a previous article by the author, "Capt. Phillip Taylor and some of His Descendants" (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIII, 280).

After the death of his first wife, Thomas Marsh I married a second time, Sarah, very possibly Sarah Pitt, and by her had at least one daughter, Sarah. The second wife, Sarah, seems to have been endowed with considerable energy and initiative. She administered on her husband's estate, March 20, 1656.¹⁶ Because of his activity in the Puritan revolution, the proprietary government in 1658 refused to recognize some of her husband's land titles. As late as 1663, she was taking up additional land. "Heir's Purchase," a ninety-acre tract in Anne Arundel County, "at ye ferry Place" was then taken up for "the use of her [step] son." In the same year, November 18, on the eastern shore, on the north side of the Choptank River in St. Michael's Creek, "Marshland," five hundred acres, was surveyed for her. The last record found of Sarah Marsh, relict of Thomas Marsh, is dated 1664.¹⁷

Sarah, the daughter, appears to have died unmarried. She is surmised to be that Sarah Marsh, spoken of in the will of Dr. Jacob Neale, as "one of ye friends of ye Ministry." She died, probably in 1688, and her will appoints as administrators, "her loving friend, John Warren" [Warner?] and her uncle, John Pitt.¹⁸ Third Haven Registers record her death: "Sarah Marsh departed this life at night, 1st month, 12th day, 1688, about ye tenth or eleventh hour." It is

¹⁵ Liber X, folio 85-6, Annapolis.

¹⁶ *Archives*, X, 486-7 and 553; Liber BB, f. 72, Land Office, Annapolis.

¹⁷ *Archives*, III, 494.

¹⁸ Test. Proceedings, Liber XIV, f. 108.

this mention of John Pitt, coupled with the fact that the name of this daughter was Sarah, that leads to the conclusion that she was the only child of the second marriage of Thomas Marsh, Sr. It may be added on this score that the fact of her fervency in the Meeting and great activity in its affairs strengthens this view, for the Pitts were more ardent as Quakers than the Marshes.

Thomas Marsh, I, died intestate in 1656.¹⁹ On January 1, 1657, he is mentioned in the records as "Thomas Marsh deceased, late of Severn."²⁰ The record of his children is confirmed by Liber X, folio 82, Land Office.

Thomas Marsh, II, son of Thomas and Margaret Marsh, was born about 1643. He was first of Anne Arundel, then of Calvert, and later of Kent and Kent Island. The proof of this descent is ample, and is unfolded in the following paragraph, included not alone because of the descent it establishes, but because of its splendid exemplification of a method that frequently must be used in Maryland genealogy.

Thomas Marsh of Anne Arundel County executed a release to Thomas Manning, August 20, 1664, of lands in the Cliff in Calvert County, which lands belonged to his father. On February 1, 1663, Phillip Calvert gave a certificate that while Secretary of Maryland, he had in his custody a deed of a certain tract in the Cliffs of Calvert County from Thomas Marsh, late of Elizabeth River in Virginia, to Thomas Manning of Nansemond; which writing was delivered to Phillip Calvert by Thomas Manning, and acknowledged by Sarah, widow of Thomas Marsh.²¹ The identity of the second Thomas Marsh with Thomas Marsh of Kent is developed, as follows: Dr. Jacob Neale, "chirurgion" of Anne Arundel County, previously referred to, in his will, 1672, left one-third of his estate to Sarah, daughter of Thomas Marsh of Anne Arundel County, and the residue to Thomas Marsh and Margaret, his wife. The will of Thomas Marsh (the second Thomas Marsh, of Kent County) 1679, mentions his wife, Jane, his daughters, Sarah and Mary, and his sisters, Margaret Berry and Elizabeth Taylor. In the will, he mentions certain property for Sarah, "left her by her mother," so she was the child of a former marriage, and with the mention of Margaret Berry and Elizabeth Taylor as sisters, the chain of evidence is nearly complete. The records of Third Haven Meeting show that Thomas Taylor of Kent County married, in 1669, Elizabeth Marsh, of Severn, completing the rigid proof of the descent.

The first official activity of Thomas Marsh, II, was in Anne Arun-

¹⁹ *Archives*, X, 486.

²⁰ *Archives*, XLI, 19.

²¹ Liber BB, f. 172.

del County, where he was sworn as Justice of the Peace, May 4, 1667,²² and Commissioner, May 4, 1668.²³ Within a few years he became powerful in the affairs of Kent County, and resided there. In 1675, Thomas Marsh is spoken of as "one of the Gentlemen of the Quorum, Commission of the Peace in Kent County."²⁴ Thomas Marsh, I, had taken up land on Kent Island in 1652, and Thomas, II, had another grant there in 1664. In May, 1668, he was commissioned Justice of the Peace for Anne Arundel County.²⁵

Further of Thomas Marsh, II, there is his patent for land in Calvert, "Major's Choice," five hundred acres, surveyed for him, June 24, 1664. This tract he sold to Thomas Sterling, May 1, 1676.²⁶ This tract later became prominent in the litigation over the Calvert-Anne Arundel boundary. In May, 1669, there was an order by the Assembly for him to be paid 104 pounds of tobacco "out of the levy of Talbot County."²⁷ On June 6, 1676, he was commissioned Justice of the Peace and Sheriff of Kent County.²⁸ In 1678, he was Burgess of Kent.²⁹ Later he is called "Captain Thomas Marsh of Kent."³⁰ The terms in which his land on Kent Island are referred to are significant, and confirm the conclusions already drawn. In the Queen Anne's Rent Rolls, there is recorded the survey of "Marsh's Forebearance," one hundred fifty acres, surveyed March 22, 1664, on Kent Island, "at ye outward bounds of a parcel formerly laid out for him." The reference, doubtless, is to "Poplar Neck," surveyed, as mentioned, in 1652, for Thomas Marsh, his father. This seems to indicate a confusion of father and son on the part of the surveyor or clerk, for the second Thomas Marsh was not old enough to have had land laid out for him in 1652.

Thomas Marsh, II, like his father, married twice. His first wife was Margaret ———, and by her he had a son, Thomas Marsh, III, of Kent Island, and a daughter, Mary. Thomas Marsh married, second, before 1677, Jane Clements, daughter of John Clements, of Kent County, a recent immigrant from England, and by her he had a daughter, Sarah, born 24th of 10th month, 1677.³¹

Thomas Marsh, II, died in 1679. His will is dated August 12 of

²² *Archives*, V, 30.

²³ *Archives*, X, 230.

²⁴ *Archives*, XV, 93 and 136.

²⁵ *Archives*, V, 30.

²⁶ Land Office, Liber WRC 1, f. 92.

²⁷ *Archives*, II, 30.

²⁸ *Archives*, XV, 93-136, and Liber CD, f. 87-11-149.

²⁹ *Archives*, VII, 4, etc.

³⁰ *Archives*, XVII, 79.

³¹ Third Haven Records, and Annapolis Liber X, f. 85-6.

that year, and the probate was on October 29. In it, he refers to his wife, Jane, as the daughter of John Clements. His daughters, Sarah and Mary, are mentioned, as well as his son, Thomas Marsh, who is under eighteen years of age. The most significant item, however, from the standpoint of this study, is the mention of his sisters, Margaret Berry and Elizabeth Taylor, eliminating any doubt of the descents of the Marsh family in this generation. In September, 1681, a writ was issued for the election of another Burgess in place of Thomas Marsh, of Kent County, deceased. At the same time, there is a commission to Capt. William Lawrence to command the company of foot, formerly commanded by Capt. Thomas Marsh.³² The inventory of the estate is by John Edmondson, William Berry, and Thomas Taylor.³³

The son, Thomas Marsh, III, married Elizabeth, daughter of Major John Hawkins, of Queen Anne's County, and had, with two daughters (Mary, who married William Dudley; and Sarah, who married John—or Gideon—Emory), a son, Thomas Marsh, IV.

The extent of the Marsh landed estate is reflected in the assessment of Thomas Marsh, III, on the Rent Rolls of Lord Baltimore, 1709:

Queen Anne's County—"Little Thickett," two hundred acres, surveyed December 9, 1640, for Giles Basha, on Kent Island, in the possession of Mr. Thomas Marsh. "Catlin Neck," three hundred fifty acres, surveyed August 15, 1650, for Francis Lambert, on Kent Island, in the possession of Mr. Thomas Marsh. "Marsh's Forebearance," one hundred fifty acres, surveyed March 22, 1664, on Kent Island, possessed by Mr. Thomas Marsh. "Warner's Discovery," two hundred acres, surveyed, July 24, 1689, for William Warner, possessed by Mr. Thomas Marsh in right of his wife. "Sarah's Portion," five hundred acres, surveyed, September 1, 1681, for Isaac Winchester, possessed by Thomas Marsh. "Cabbins Neck," on Kent Island, three hundred acres, possessed by Thomas Marsh.

"Marshland" appears to have passed out of the family by 1709, for on the rolls of that year, it appears as follows: "Marshland," five hundred acres, surveyed November 18, 1663, for Sarah Marsh, possessed two hundred sixty-five acres, by Mr. Robert Grundy, and one hundred sixty-five acres, John Sherwood, for the heir of James Berry, seventy acres by James Anderson.

Elizabeth, widow of the third Thomas Marsh, married George

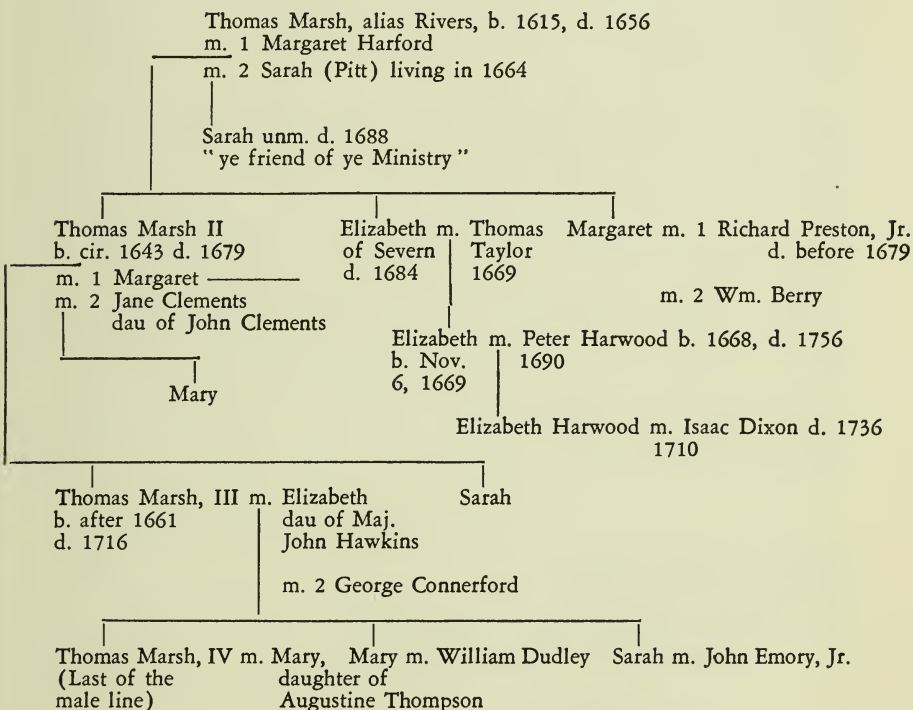
³² *Archives*, XVII, 78.

³³ Test. Proc., Liber XII, f. 61. May 21, 1681.

Connerford, who administered on the estate of Thomas Marsh. It is the record of the settlement of this estate that establishes the Marsh genealogy in the third and fourth generations.³⁴

Thomas Marsh, IV, of Kent Island, married before 1738, Mary, the daughter of Augustine Thompson of Queen Anne's County. It is he whom Davis calls "Capt. Thomas Marsh of Kent Island with a residence also at Chestertown." He died during the early days of the Revolution. With him passes the name of a distinguished line of gentlemen, but the blood and tradition of the Marshes is preserved in the descendants of the daughters, most of whom married and had families.

MARSH



³⁴ Adm. Acts, Vol. II, f. 496; Accts., Liber IX, f. 296; Inventory Liber I, 145.

LETTERS OF CHARLES CARROLL, BARRISTER

(Continued from Vol. XXXIV, page 189)

Annapolis Maryland Novem^r 10th 1764

Dear Sir

Inclosed I send you the under noted Bills Amounting to three Hundred and six pounds Ten Shillings with which Please to Credit my Account. Yours & the Collin James Brown I Received with the Goods for your Care in which I am much obliged I forgot to mention in my order Last year for the watch sent me a suitable Equipage or Eteni I Dont Know which they Call them and Chain as I suppose they are fashionable Please to send one to me with my other Goods as also the things under mentioned—the Plain Gold watch I now write for is for myself and as I am Concerned in the Blood or Running Breed of Horses I want a Stopt watch with a second Hand to try their speed which Hand and movement if it Conveniently Can be Done I would have Put into the watch ordered as I have seen them sent in I suppose it will be no Detriment to the other work if the Maker should think it so I would by no means Have it Put in I would not have the watch made of the over small Size as I think the Smaller the work is the more Liable to be out of order and our Workmen Here are But Bunglers at Repairing I shall Have occasion to Drawn on you for about one Hundred Pounds Payable to M^r Nicholas Maccubbin which Please to pay when the Draft Comes to Hand

I am Sir your M^o humble Serv^t

To M^r William Anderson }
Merchant in London }

C. Carroll

Mr Matthew Tilghman on y^rself

£300.. 0.. 0

Captain Robert Johnston on D^o

6.. 10.. 0

£306.. 10.. 0

& Captain Curling and Capt McLachlan November 19th 1764.

Invoice of Goods sent Inclosed in a Letter to M^r William Anderson Merchant in London Dated the 10th of Nov^r 1764

One Plain Gold watch of Elliot to Run in Stones
 One Seal with the Carrolls and Tilghmans Coat set in Gold
 Seventeen Semicircular Brass Hooks for Hanging Back window Curtains the
 Hooks not to Screw into the Wanescot but with Brass Plates to fasten to
 the Wanescot and the Hooks to set in.
 One China Terrine not over Large suitable to the China wrote for two Large
 China Sauce Boats for Ditto & two Smaller Ditto
 Six China Shells for Escalloping Oisters
 two strong fire screens Mahogany Stands.
 A set of Common Ivory fish and Counters for Quadrille in a Box the fish &
 Counters of four Different Colours in four Small Square Boxes.
 A Dozen Stained Ivory Handled Table Knives and Forks
 A Dozen Stained Ivory Handled Desert Ditto
 three Blank Day Books Parchment Covers three Quire in Each
 Ⓜ Cap^t Curling and McLachlan

Sir

Inclosed I send you Robert Peter's Bill of Exchange on Glasford and Company Glasgow for Seventy one Pounds Ten Shillings with which Please to Credit my account or send me under Protest by the first opportunity.

I shall be obliged if you^l send me by any Convenient Ship Coming in this Fall or very Early in the Spring the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice. I do not Know the Quantities of seed necessary to sow the Ground mentioned therein so I wrote for them and mention the Ground Intended to be sown that the Seedsman may send me in the usual Proportion for Each you may be Pleased to ask him whether it would not be more safe from Damage by Damp if the seed should be sent in the Pod or Husk and Direct him to send it in Accordingly they must be the Freshest of this years seed.

I shall have occasion I believe to Draw on you this year Payable to Lord Baltimore for about Twenty Pounds Thomas Ringgold sixteen Pounds James Franklin Ten Pounds Clement Brooke Ten Pounds Richard Croxall Ten Pounds John Welsh fifteen Pounds, which Please to pay as they Come to Hand.

I am Dear Sir your Most H^{ble} Servt

Cha^s Carroll

Annapolis Maryland }
 April 2^d 1765 }

To Mr William Anderson }
 merchant in London }

Ⓜ Captain Brown

Ⓜ Cap^t Andrews

Via Bristol

Invoice of Goods sent Inclosed in a Letter to Mr William Anderson Merchant in London Dated the 2^d of April 1765

$\frac{4}{x} \left(\frac{1}{x} \right)$

8 Bolts of Best Number three Sail Canvas or Duck
 Best Brocoli seed 2 ounces
 Best Cellery Ditto 2 ounces
 Best Kind of Garden Beet 1 ounce
 Tare Everlasting sufficient for one acre
 Many flowered Vitchling for one acre
 Kidney witch sufficient for one Acre
 Birds foot Trefoil Ditto for one Acre
 Ladies mantle Ditto for one Acre
 Narrow Leaved Mountain Grass for one acre
 Millet Ciprus Grass—Sufficient for half Acre
 Tall meadow Grass Ditto for $\frac{1}{2}$ Acre
 Great water Grass Ditto for $\frac{1}{2}$ Acre
 Mouse tail Grass Ditto for $\frac{1}{2}$ Acre

Sir

Please to send me with the Goods wrote for in mine of the 2^d Instant four Pair of the Best Ten Quarter Blankets I think they Come at twenty five Shillings 7s Pair and Ten thousand Ten Penny Nails

I am Sir your most Humble Servant

Annapolis Maryland }
 April 6th 1765 }

C. Carroll

To Mr William Anderson }
 Merchant in London }

7s Capt Brown }
 for London }

7s Captain Andrews }
 for Bristol }

Sir

I shall Ship you in your Ship the Hazard Capt Adam Coxen now in Choptank six Tons of Barr Iron and nineteen Tons of Pigg—be Pleased to make Insurance for me on the said Iron that In Case of Loss I may Draw the sum of one Hundred and Eighty five Pounds Sterling—

I am Sir your most H^{ble} Servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland }
 July 26th 1765 }

To Mr William Anderson Mer-
 chant in London }

August 1st ☿ Captain Hannick

☿ Capt. Richardson

☿ Cap^t John Buchanan

Merc^t to make out Cert. for

Ten tons of Bar and fifteen Tons
 of Pig as so much of Each Shipped

the Insurance only wrote for as
 above.

October 1st Certificate Inclosed

Cap^t Coxen ☿ Esq^r Chamberlain

Sir

I shall Ship you in y^r Ship the Betsy Capt. Love now in Wye River
 Six Tons of Bar Iron and Seven Tons of Pigg Iron I Desire that you
 will make Insurance for me on the said Iron that in Case of Loss I
 may Recover the sum of one Hundred and Twenty five Pounds Sterg.

I am Sir Y^{rs}

C. C.

Annapolis Aug^t 5th 1765

To Mr William Anderson

Merc^{ht} in London

☿ Captain Hanrick

☿ Captain Richardson

☿ Capt. John Buchanan

☿ Captain Spencer }

for Bristol }

Sir

I shall Ship on Board a Ship of Mr William Stevensons Called the
 Isabella John Cole master twenty five Tons of Pig Iron. The Iron
 will go Consigned to Mr Stevenson who Goes Home to Bristol in the
 said Ship And She Loads Either in Chester or Elk River. I Desire
 therefore that you will make Insurance on the said Ship at and from
 the Place of her Loading to the Port of Bristol and there untill un-
 livered that in Case of Loss I may Draw the sum of one hundred and

fifty Pounds Sterling the Premium of such Insurance Place to my account.

I am Sir your H^{ble} Servant

C. C.

Maryland August 13th }
1765 }

To M^r William Anderson }
Merchant in London }

☞ Cap^t John Buchanan
put in a Bag at M^r }
Middletons for Cap^t. Grundalls }
☞ Captain Spencer for Bristol

Sir

I shall Ship you in your Ship the Captain Johnstoun now in Chester River Eight Hh^{ds} of Tobacco. I Desire you will make Insurance for me on the said Ship that In case of Loss I may Draw forty Pounds Sterling. And I shall Ship you in the Hazard Coxen four Tons of Bar Iron more than I wrote you of before and there will be four Tons of Pigg Less. So I Desire you will add to my Insurance on the said Ship forty Pounds Sterling more

I am Sir your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland }
September 29th 1765 }

To M^r William Anderson

Merchant in London

☞ Captain Hayton

☞ Cap^t. Coxen

☞ Captain Montgomerie

Gent

Yours of the 5th of April Last I Received wherein you mention the Ballance of £23.. 14.. 4 Due to you of which I assure you I was not forgetfull But, was in Hopes of Remitting you Long before this Effects Sufficient to have paid that and Turned the Ball in my favour But I have been so unfortunate as to fail in my Endeavours As your Captains and those Concerned for you Chose to Give the Preference always to others I must now therefore Desire you will apply to M^r William Anderson who will Have Directions from me to pay off the Ballance And I Promise you I shall wherever I have opportunity Renew a Correspondence with you which has not been Interrupted

by any want of Inclination in me to Continue it In the meantime I
Remain

Gentlemen your most H^{ble} Servant

Annapolis Maryland October }
10th 1765 }

C. Carroll

[illegible]

Invoice of Goods sent Inclosed in a Letter to Mr William Anderson Merchant in London Dated 9th of October 1765

$$\begin{array}{c} 4 \\) \{ (\\ \times | \times \end{array}$$

Figblue 6 Pounds
Powder blue 4 Pounds
Green Tea 8 Pounds
Best Hyson D^o 3 Pounds
12 Loaves Double Sugar
8 Loaves Single Ditto
Mace 6 ounces
Cloves 6 ounces
Nutmegs 6 Ditto
Cinnamon 6 Ditto
6 pounds of Sugar
2 Dozen Quire of best Post writing Paper
1 Ream of fools Cap D^o
1 Ditto of uncut Coarse D^o
Tindals Continuation of Rapin from the Death of George the first Down
to Present time in Quarto—
Gordons Independent whig and Remarks on Tacitus
Fosters Sermons—Whistons Life
Macchiavel's Political Discourses on Livy Translated from the Italian—
Pringle on the Diseases of the Army—
An Account of the most usual Causes of Popular Diseases of the Danger
of the Common Methods that are taken before a Physician is Called in
and Plain Directions what is Proper to be Done from Doctor Tyssots
advice to the People Translated from the French of Doctor Tyssots by
Doctor Kirkpatrick Lately Published—
As Good a Microscope with all Proper Glasses and other Apparatus as Can
be Got for five Guineas—With Directions for using and fixing the
Glasses, made and fixed Strong and Put up in a Good Case for Keeping
it in—and well Packed up
four best Flanders Bed Ticks with Bolsters and Pillows
one Piece of Good Holland Sheeting Linen at ab^t 4/6^d or 5/
osnabrigs and Coarse Coloured Thread 25^{lb}
4 pair of mens best white Silk Stockings
two Dozen Pymont water fresh or not at all—

one Fashionable Silver Coffee Pot to Hold a pint and a Half with Coat of Arms—

- 4 Gross best Velvit Bottle Corks
- 1 ^{lb} of the Powder of Bark—Close Packed
- $\frac{1}{2}$ ^{lb} of Best Rhubarb
- $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Power of Jallop
- $\frac{1}{2}$ of Glauber Salts
- 1 piece of Fine Cambrick
- 12 D^o fine Diaper Tape Different Breadths
- 12 Ditto Holland D^o D^o
- 8 Knots of best Bobin
- 1 piece white Silk Fem^t
- 1 piece Dark Brown D^o
- 6 pieces D^o Lively Colours all Different
- 1 piece of Black and 1 piece white Silk Shoe binding
- 1 piece of Black worsted Ditto
- 2 Dozen Best 3 yard Silk Laces
- 1 ^{lb} best Sewing Silk in Colours
- 4 ounces marking Silk
- 6 pair best Glazed Lamb Gloves
- 6 pair Ditto Mitts
- 3 ^m midlings Pins
- 3 ^m short whites
- 3 ^m minekins
- $\frac{1}{2}$ piece fine Pink Coloured Callimanco
- 6 yards strong Black Calimanco or Russell fit for Womens Shoes—
- 3 Dozⁿ yards of Sattin Guard of the Inclosed Pattern

Dear Sir

I Received yours of 25th of April Last with Account Current Inclosed to 30th of Ditto which was Right. I hear nothing of a Bill of Robert Peters for £71.. 10^s 0^d which I Remitted you since

The Goods ꝑ Love Came all Safe Except the seed which was I fear much Damaged the Knives also were much Rusted as they were not oiled before they were Packed up. There were Delivered me marked with my mark Six Plain Mahogany framed Chairs more than I wrote for, the Bottoms without Covers I Suppose they Came from Master Seabrook But they are no where mentioned

The Barr Iron in Coxen I would have Exactly weighed for our Clerk writes me that he put Ten Tons on board. Tho' I wrote at first for Insurance but on Six. I have wrote to the Mess^{rs} Hanbury's to Call on you for £23.. 14.. 4 The Ballance of their Account Due from me to them which I Desire you will pay and Take their Receipt and send it to me. I have Likewise Directed M^{rs} Alice Staines the wife of the Cook of Clare Hall Cambridge to Call on you for £8..

2.. 6 which Please to pay to Her Herself on your being sure of the Person or Her order The Inclosed Letter Relates to Her please to send it to the Penny Post My Wife still makes Complaint about her Tea that sent Mr Tilghman is Indeed Extraordinary Good which She has been used to But this of ours has no more flavour than a Chip Pray Let the Alderman Know that we have Tho' out of the sound of Bow a Distinguishing faculty in our Tastes and for the future Let us have his best with his Paper and Name on the Cannisters. We have Just had a Glimpse of our Cousin Jemmy while over at the Provincial Court he Delivered me my watch But there was no Account with it you need not send the Equipage wrote for as they are not worn (Please to send me In the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice Insured) I have seen at old Mr Chamberlain's Large Handsome Red Leather Trunks with Brass Nails and Good Locks which I think Came from you be Pleased to Let our Goods wrote for this year Except the Pymont water be Packed up in two such Exactly four foot Long Each but not too Deep with brass Handles well Lined and the Leather to over Lap when Shut Down to Keep out Dust Good strong Locks with Staples to the Lid to Let Down. And Carefully Packed up so as not to Rub the out sides shall be Glad if your Pymont water warehouse man will Let me Know How the water should be Kept whether in a Damp Cool Cellar or Dry My wife Joins me in Affectionate Compliments to you all

I am Dear Sir Your most H^{ble} Serv^t

Annapolis Maryland }
October 9th 1765 }

Cha. Carroll

To Mr William Anderson }
Merchant in London }

⌘ Capt. Coxen Sent by }
Mr Chamberlain }

⌘ Captain Montgomerie

⌘ Capt. Johnstoun

(To be continued.)

BOOK REVIEWS

George Washington. By NATHANIEL WRIGHT STEPHENSON and WALDO HILARY DUNN. Oxford University Press, 1940. 2v. xiii, 473; vii, 596. \$10.00.

The colossal figure of George Washington standing across the threshold of American national history has attracted countless biographers. It seems that we cannot know or read too much about our greatest American. In this newest study begun by the late Professor Stephenson and completed by Professor Dunn, now acting President of Scripps College, Washington has found a biography to match the epic quality of his career. Distinguished for its scholarship, its sanity of treatment, its literary quality, and its typographical excellence, this two-volume work represents a "publishing event." Professor Stephenson conceived it as the crowning achievement of his life, lavishing his historical scholarship upon it and saturating himself with the materials of Washington's career over a period of more than twenty-five years in preparation for this work. After his death in 1935 Professor Dunn, long a teacher of English and a close friend of Stephenson's, undertook to bring the manuscript to completion.

Here is presented neither a debunked caricature of Washington nor an idealized image, but the man in full stature as he actually appeared to his contemporaries and as he spoke to them in his letters and public papers. The authors have fully utilized all previous biographies, not excepting the first one by "Parson" Weems, and have widely and judiciously exploited a voluminous mass of other material. Nor have they neglected to make apt use of tradition and legend when these would illuminate the drama, and always their narrative glows with historical imagination. They have sketched the eighteenth-century background with broad and brilliant strokes, but Washington throughout occupies the center of their stage. Writing with sympathetic objectivity they will unquestionably convince modern readers that Washington was the hero that most of his contemporaries knew him to be.

In these pages the debunking biographers of Washington are themselves debunked. After examining all the evidence for the supposedly scandalous amours of the young Virginia grandee the authors emphasize "the purity of his personal life" and show that he was a devoted husband and stepfather. "Ambitious, though in a peculiar unegotistic way of his own" and singularly favored by events, he emerged as the sole hero of the ill-fated Braddock campaign and became the idol of both tidewater and frontier sections of Virginia before he was twenty-four years old. Indeed the lessons of his early military experience never left him, and he remained essentially a frontier fighter to the end always employing a skilful opportunism to overwhelm his enemies.

Washington's character became the principal asset of the American cause as he transformed a motley militia into an army and saturated them with his own indomitable spirit. After some blundering and hesitation, clear enough in retrospect, he evolved that masterful strategy which enabled him in spite of serious reverses, the inefficiency of an hysterical Congress, and the unreliability of supposed friends, to snatch victory out of defeat. Probably the descriptions of Washington's military campaigns, particularly the battle of Monmouth, are

the finest writing in this biography. This section reaches its appropriate culmination in the magnificent stroke by which he opportunistically altered his military plans to cooperate with the French fleet in the Chesapeake and to crush Cornwallis.

During the troubled post-Revolutionary years this republican aristocrat from his retreat at Mount Vernon watched with growing alarm the futile attempts of Congress to harvest the fruits of the Revolution. And as both the impotence of Congress and the need for national unity grew more apparent he became a statesman and began to work for a new frame of government. If he was not the most active or most vocal member of the Philadelphia convention, he was at least its guiding spirit. His character and intellect were impressed not only upon the final draft of the Constitution but also upon the work of the ratifying conventions.

But perhaps "the flare of radiant energy that marked the contest for the Constitution was the last which Washington ever experienced." Prematurely aged by the Revolution he was a tired man when, already an institution to the American people, he consented to become their first president. In that office his mellowed judgment, his uncommon common sense, and his sound wisdom carried the new nation safely through eight years of international chaos and established precedents which are still followed because they are still valid. Though this section of the biography is marred by unfriendliness to Jefferson the treatment of the Genêt episode is particularly effective.

This study probes deeply into Washington's soul and reveals the true inwardness of his career. It shows among other things that his biographers need not fictionize in order to humanize him. The "berserk" in his character as a young man proves his common humanity, and in later life he often relaxed his severe dignity in outbursts of tempestuous wrath or in shouts of laughter or in acts of unpatronizing generosity. Many illuminating facts generally known to scholars are here brought together as highlights in a captivating narrative, such as: that Washington rode his white horse to death in the furious battle of Monmouth; that "he was the true founder of American scientific farming"; that he was obliged to borrow money for his trip to New York as president-elect in 1789; and that in the eight years of his presidency he vetoed only two acts of Congress.

Maryland and Marylanders played prominent roles in Washington's life and frequently cross the pages of this study. His early trips into the wilderness of western Maryland introduced him to Thomas Cresap with whom he had many friendly relations, and his tilts with Captain Dagworthy at Fort Cumberland during the French and Indian War are described to show not only his official punctiliousness but the jealousy between Maryland and the Old Dominion. His connection with the Potomac Canal Company indicated his interest in the development of the West, and his occasional contacts with Governors Sharpe and Eden are duly recorded. He entrusted the education of his step-son to the Reverend Jonathan Boucher of Annapolis and became an interested patron of Washington College at Chestertown.

In this work Washington's career is unrolled like a majestic pageant described with unusual vividness and literary charm and appealing alike to the average reader and to the specialist. Its value is enhanced by the scholarly notes appended to each volume and by the impeccable index. This work will undoubtedly become the standard short biography of Washington.

Men of Marque: Baltimore Privateers in the War of 1812. By JOHN PHILIPS CRANWELL and WILLIAM B. CRANE. New York, Norton, 1940. 427 pp. \$3.75.

To do justice to a volume so carefully compiled by Messrs. Cranwell and Crane is hardly within the scope of a brief review, for it must be said that it is virtually impossible—there are so many actions described, so many portraits of master mariners depicted. To the serious reader, be he a follower of the naval history of that period, or be he a lover of tales of the sea and feats of arms—performed under the greatest of difficulties—this work should rank high.

Maclay and a few others have written on the subject of privateering, in general, during the Revolutionary Wars, the War of 1812 and the War of 1861; but it is very doubtful whether any history, dealing solely with the privateers of Baltimore, their officers and their crews, has ever been written or put forward so clearly. Of course there have been extracts of log books of individual ships published in the past; but they are rare and difficult to come by.

The authors of the present work seem to have been most careful in sifting their data. The presentation of Commodore Joshua Barney, who for the most part seems to have had ill luck on his cruises, the dash and success of Captain Thomas Boyle, the bravery of Captain James Dooly—the resourcefulness of these men, not to mention the spirit of the other masters—show to what an extent the privateers were a thorn in the side of the British blockading fleets, causing them to detach ships from the North Atlantic squadron to protect their shipping in Caribbean and South Atlantic waters. There is evidence, also, that the British mail brigs were no mean adversaries and that, on occasion, British merchantmen could put up a stiff fight.

Illustrations of the mentality and forcefulness of the captains are portrayed—men who were equally at home in a fight or a frolic as in the handling of drunken or mutinous crews. Their resources in times of peril, or stress of weather are also presented. There is the matter, too, of the humanity they showed to the vanquished. One only has to turn to the letter of appreciation written by Lieutenant J. C. Gordon, R. N., to Captain Boyle after his ship, H. M. S. *St. Lawrence*, had surrendered to the *Chasseur*. Such humanity might well be shown by the raiders of the present day.

The excerpts from the logs and newspapers are of great interest and bring before the reader facts which he would be unable to find for himself without a deal of research work.

It might seem that, for the benefit of the average reader, it would have been better if the arrangement of the book had been somewhat different—if the episodes of Barney, Boyle and Dooly had been given one part and the exploits of the lesser commanders and their actions had been relegated to another to aid in clarity and avoid redundancy—a thing which is difficult to escape in dealing with such matters.

The authors deserve immense credit for the labour which they have expended and for the very meticulous manner in which their results have been presented. The book should take an honoured place on the shelves of those interested in matters of privateering and naval history, and there is certainly

enough "gore" and acts of "derring do" to attract the casual reader. Nor can too much be said in regard to the format of the book itself.

CHARLES G. FITZGERALD.

The Mad Booths of Maryland. By STANLEY KIMMEL. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill [1940]. 400 pp. \$3.50.

Stanley Kimmel, the author of *The Mad Booths of Maryland* en route from Washington to New York in 1934, stopped off to see the Booth home near Bel Air. His curiosity was so stimulated by the conflicting accounts of John Wilkes Booth's assassination of President Lincoln that he was inspired to pursue the matter to some more definite conclusion than had at that time been presented. He felt, too, that closer study of John Wilkes and his background might disclose some understandable weakness that would account for his mad act. This has resulted, after six years of continuous work, in Mr. Kimmel's interesting history of the Booth family.

Although material on the assassination is voluminous, there is little that can be considered entirely reliable, as so much of it is colored by the intense bitterness created by the Civil War and the President's death. Mr. Kimmel has, of course, gone through everything available and has given a clear and unbiased account of Booth's actions before and after the assassination, of the trial of the conspirators, and of everything bearing upon the tragedy. His comments and citations show the tremendous work involved as well as the care with which he has used his material. Presenting John Wilkes Booth as a personality was, however, a more rewarding task, for it led the author to bring to light numerous facts and legends surrounding all the members of the amazing Booth family.

There seems no doubt that a shadow was cast upon the family by the marriage of Junius Brutus Booth to Mary Ann Holmes after their children (Edwin, Asia, John Wilkes and the others) were grown. It was fear of the discovery of this scandal that made them shun all publicity except in connection with their theatrical careers, and their withdrawal from the world accounts for the fact that much of the history of the family which Mr. Kimmel now gives us is not generally known. There also seems no doubt that some of the children inherited Junius Brutus Booth's eccentricities, which, if not insanity, certainly verged close enough upon it to make the title of the book a suitable one.

While it is quite natural that the reader's attention should be held by the shocking and scandalous events in the lives of the Booths, there are many happier pages of equal interest. Much emphasis is placed on the unfailing devotion of Mary Ann to her tempestuous but equally devoted husband and to her children; one is made aware of the charm of the handsome and badly spoiled John Wilkes; and one admires the good sense and ability of the successful actor-manager Junius Brutus, Jr., and the unselfish devotion of Rosalie. Although much has been written of the gentle and lovable Edwin's later years, no book on the Booths would be complete without a description of these years, but the author has also traced Edwin's early career in the far west of the gold rush days, when he worked so hard to perfect his acting and

struggled so valiantly with his own frailties. In only a few places does he interpret his characters without giving his sources, but his interpretations are so convincing that they detract not at all from the value of the book as a history and aid in the creation of full length portraits.

Mr. Kimmel has used his wealth of material with honesty and discretion, carefully disentangling fact from fiction, and he writes fluently and amusingly. *The Mad Booths of Maryland* is therefore not only an important contribution to the history of the American stage but also swings along like an exciting novel—an all too rare combination.

MARGERY WHYTE.

West Virginia, the Mountain State. By CHARLES HENRY AMBLER. New York, Prentice-Hall, 1940, 660 pp.

From the standpoints of scholarship and impartiality, few State histories are creditable; but in his *West Virginia, the Mountain State*, Professor Ambler has produced a very unusual volume. It is not merely free from the weaknesses that so frequently characterize such works but it possesses merits of the highest order in historical presentation. Primarily, it is packed with information treated in a manner that assures conviction by virtue of accompanying citations from source material or secondary authorities.

Since West Virginia did not become a separate State until 1863, necessarily a large part of Professor Ambler's presentation concerns what were up to that time the western counties of Virginia. At first one is inclined to feel that the author is at his best in the treatment of the frontier, but in the eyes of the present reviewer that is merely to him the most interesting period and the one most needing attention as actual history rather than the uncertain handling of current, or near-current, events.

Parts of the work include a résumé of the antecedents of West Virginia. The author has but little space for this period; and, in that space, depends upon the increasingly discredited version of the redoubtable Captain John Smith, who libeled both his associate "venturers" and the noble company of "adventurers" who established the first permanent English colony in the New World. Smith "borrowed" or adapted from other chronicles many parts of his narrative, and while he took delight in being satirical about the story of cannibalism among the early settlers, it is by no means certain that this story is true to the facts in the case. Certainly it smacks of headline sensationalism to say, after statements about some colonists returning to England, that "others turned cannibals." Two pages later, the Smith story again receives undue emphasis in the sentence concerning conditions in 1670; when "From a land of starvation and cannibals, Virginia had become 'God's country'"—unless, perhaps, we put quotes around both depictions!

The excellence of *West Virginia, the Mountain State* cannot really be marred by such minor flaws, if such they be; and calling attention to one such allegation is, in itself, a flaw in this review! In truth, the reviewer would like to devote several times the space allotted him in referring to or descanting upon the many excellences in a work which involved so much research and which, for that reason, reveals so much that has been hitherto unknown or neglected. Necessarily, the text has many references to Maryland connections.

MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS.

A Quaker Childhood. By HELEN THOMAS FLEXNER. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1940. 335 pp. \$3.00.

An English critic has remarked "that the most effective escape books are those written about periods of profound security." If this is true, it accounts for the many recent revivals of the late Victorians and the urge that moderns have for reliving their childhood. It is hard not to compare this childhood with that of H. L. Mencken's *Happy Days* or Clarence Day's *Life With Father* but it can be compared only as the repressed female of that period compares with her more robust brothers.

Dr. and Mrs. James Carey Thomas of Baltimore were unusual parents and they succeeded in rearing eight unusually clever and charming children. That they succeeded is remarkable because at the same time they were otherwise engaged in preaching in the Friends' Meeting, reforming the prisons, working among the poor and attending Temperance and innumerable educational meetings. This was, they felt, the work God intended them to do.

The children were not always charming for they were painfully normal with their squabbles, jealousies and pranks. But they lived the lives of the usual well-fed, well-bred children, ruled by love, justice and humor rather than by any disciplinary formulas of the day. In the background was the strict orthodoxy of the Friends and in the foreground is the first bubbling of educational rebellion and of equal rights for women.

Dr. Thomas' love of music, art and poetry was a fine balance to his strict Quaker beliefs in plain dress, temperance and the simple life. Mrs. Thomas held fast to all the tenets of her religion but loved to dress her little girls in pretty and becoming fashions. She was lovely to look at, and so adored by her children that they fought for her favor. Her own lack of a formal education led her to battle convention and her husband in securing for her brilliant daughter Carey the college degree she had herself desired. Her intensity of purpose was clearly illustrated when she finally used strategy to overcome Dr. Thomas' objections to a higher learning for women. "Nothing is left for us but tears," she told Carey. This age old weapon won when logic and reason failed.

It was natural that two such high spirited people should not always agree. One other of these occasions was when Tolstoi's *My Religion* inspired Mrs. Thomas to put the Sermon on the Mount in practice. The big house on Madison Avenue became a meeting place for beggars. Dr. Thomas objected. "I admire Tolstoi in many ways," said he, "but he has no common sense, and he lives in the country." However, the stiff theology which was their daily meat became mellowed in practice by common sense and kindness, and the old Victorian conventions, with the influx of new ideas in the founding of the Hopkins University and then of Bryn Mawr College, were breaking down.

There is but a faint flavor of Baltimore in this book; a glimpse of Mt. Vernon Place in an early Spring, of Miss Mary Garrett's white Arabian horses, of "Cousin" Francis King and his daughters, and of the founding of the Bryn Mawr School for Girls, a school with a masculine curriculum complete with Latin. It is rather through the reactions of a sensitive little girl that you feel the placid life of a Southern city flow by, with only an occasional ripple, a death, a love affair or maybe a minor moral rebellion. But this book

will be interesting some day to scholars for the very intimate picture it gives of family life in the '80s, small and detailed as a miniature.

ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE.

The Log Cabin Myth. By HAROLD R. SHURTLEFF. Edited and with an introduction by Samuel E. Morison. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1939. 264 pp. \$2.50.

This book does much more than demolish the myth that Americans built log cabins in the seventeenth century, a tradition in which nine out of every ten Americans strongly believe; it is a comprehensive survey of the first stage of American architecture—English, French, Dutch and Swedish,—and as such should be a fundamental book for an art or history library. Dr. Morison points out in the introduction that the work is "of great importance for American social history." With the enlarged conception of history now in style, students cannot remain indifferent to matters which were of so vital an importance to the early settlers as the form and construction of their dwellings.

Mr. Shurtleff was formerly director of research in Rockefeller's reconstruction of Williamsburg in Virginia. He has produced a well illustrated volume, which by careful documentation shows that in colony after colony, from Newfoundland to the Carolinas—with the one exception of New Sweden on Delaware River,—the settlers of the seventeenth century erected not log houses, but *timber-framed* structures of sills and studs, which they had been accustomed to *since the Middle Ages*. For Maryland, Shurtleff cites Cornwale's "building of A house toe put my head in, of sawn Timber framed"; and he might well have included the frame manor-house of Wollaston, James Neale's home, which he mistakenly calls "a Virginia dwelling house."

The whole book demonstrates what an absurdity it is to believe that the English colonists brought a foreign, Scandinavian, log cabin technique to these shores, especially when there exists an "overwhelming body of framed-house documents" against a great "lack of log house evidence." According to Shurtleff, there have been discovered in literature only five references to seventeenth century log houses, namely: in Maine (Sept., 1662), "the earliest known mention of a log house"; in Maryland (1669) at Bohemia Manor; and three elsewhere. To this list may be added three Maryland references: Nevill's "Loged hows" of July, 1662, with a date which gives the Free State the doubtful honor of first place (*Archives*, LIII, 232); Glover's "loged howse" of 1663; and the St. Mary's City log jail. But these eight references—all in the 1660's—are but a drop in the bucket compared with the vast existing material on timber-framing in the Colonies.

In his very interesting last chapter, Shurtleff explains how the myth arose, chiefly from "the log cabin and hard cider campaign of 1840." President Tyler introduced the myth into Virginia with his Jamestown-log-cabin speech of 1857, thus giving a "godsend to cabineers," like Bruce, Yonge, Stanard and Dodd, in Virginia. To this list might well have been added, Thomas, Wilstach and Ives, of Maryland. In New England it is significant that C. M. Andrews and Yale University have promised to change in second editions their references to log cabins.

Gregory, of Virginia, is wrongly saddled with responsibility for the "fear-

ful" log reconstructions at Roanoke Island, which in reality antedate Gregory's publication. Nevertheless, Shurtleff's study, if it does nothing else, should prevent any future preposterousness like that at Roanoke. Yet it does more than seek to eradicate "log-cabinitis"; it makes a positive contribution to knowledge of our early housing and social history.

HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN.

The Public Life of George Chalmers. By GRACE AMELIA COCKROFT. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Number 454.] New York, Columbia University Press, 1939. 233 pp. \$2.75.

George Chalmers (1742-1825) was one of the Scotsmen who left an impress on American colonial affairs. He is of particular interest to Marylanders because he practiced law in Annapolis and Baltimore from 1763 to 1775 and was an intimate friend of the principal men in the ruling clique. When his Loyalist sympathies forced him to flee, he settled in London and after some effort received recognition for his losses of property and the blight to his career. He was chief clerk at the Office for Trade from 1786 until his death and colonial agent for the Bahamas for a slightly shorter period. In both places he kept his fingers on the pulse of events and exerted influence on the British colonial policies. On the side he was an author and a collector, and he engaged in fierce controversies with some of the prominent literary figures of his day. His *Political Annals of the Present United Colonies from their Settlement to the Peace of 1763*, though unfinished, was one of the earliest examples of scientific historical method. He used manuscript materials whenever they were available, and historians from his day to the present have been unable to dispense with the results of his research.

Dr. Cockroft has written a capable and scholarly study of Chalmers' public life, without attempting anything in the nature of a "psychograph" of the man. Nevertheless she has included details which show many traits of Chalmers' character, and she admits that he was dogmatic, inconsistent, vain, vindictive, unfair, and unwilling to acknowledge glaring mistakes. This ability to recognize Chalmers' shortcomings inclines the reader to accept readily Dr. Cockroft's description of the latter eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Chalmers' life in Maryland is sketched briefly because the evidence from that period is scant, and one gets no more than the usual picture of the charming social life of Annapolis and the more rugged atmosphere of Baltimore, "a booming frontier town." The gradual approach of the Revolution is traced in general terms and the account of Chalmers' opinions of it are drawn largely from his own testimony before the Commission of Enquiry in later years.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

Some Historic Houses; Their Builders and Their Places in History. Edited by JOHN C. FITZPATRICK. Published under the auspices of the National Society of Colonial Dames of America. New York, Macmillan, 1939. 160 pp. \$4.00.

This readable book tells in an agreeable way the story of the old houses maintained by the Colonial Dames. In some cases they are owned by the

state or the city in which they stand and are entrusted to the state society of Colonial Dames. Here for instance are Gunston Hall, Philadelphia's Stenton, the Old Barracks, the Stephen Hopkins house, the Quincy homestead, the Van Cortlandt house and our own Mt. Clare. In other cases the society owns them outright: sometimes, as with Whitehall in Rhode Island, they even rescued them from disintegration. Not all of them are colonial: one is in Oregon, and others are in Ohio and Wisconsin. Nor are they all the grand homes like Gunston Hall or the Moffatt-Ladd house, for not many houses of that first water ever did exist.

Each house is described and enough of its gossip is given to stir the interest, gossip often unfamiliar and hard to come upon. There are no plans or measured drawings, but the book was not written for historians or for architects. The illustrations the good, so good that they could be more numerous. They are all photographs, and for this sort of book photographs are better than drawings or etchings. The book was compiled from articles written within the state where the house is. This produces an unevenness of quantity and of quality, and possibly even a faint odor of rivalry, a healthy rivalry. But it was edited by John C. Fitzpatrick, and Fitzpatrick's hand has not yet lost its cunning.

ELIZABETH MERRITT.

Bibliography of Mathematical Works Printed in America through 1850. By

LOUIS C. KARPINSKI. Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford Univ. Press, 1940. 697 p. \$6.00.

This monumental contribution to American bibliography lists some 2998 editions of 1092 separate works on mathematics, and affords a most interesting picture of the development and condition of mathematical study in this hemisphere. It also serves admirably as a source for bibliographical information on the individual titles.

Publications relating to the history, biography, and philosophy of mathematics, as well as those devoted to the various branches of the subject are included. The compiler has endeavored to list all such works published in the United States, Canada, and the West Indies up to 1850, and all those of Central and South America up to 1800, with some of the latter for the period 1800-1850. His earliest title was published in Mexico in 1556. Many languages are here represented, including one title in Choctaw, one in Dutch, several in Hawaiian, and many in Spanish, French and German. American editions of works first published in Europe abound. Mathematical journals are included, and special attention is paid to mathematical material in encyclopedias of the time.

The structure of this scholarly work deserves careful consideration. The list is chronological by years and under each year is alphabetical by author, the only deviation from the chronological scheme being the plan of listing all editions of a certain work together immediately after the entry for the first known editions. As a consequence the output shown for each year is really the output only of first editions, not of all mathematical publications of the year. The great advantage is that the complete history of a certain work and its popularity through the years are visible at a glance. The bibliographical and

descriptive notes are extremely important and helpful. Copies of the items are located, by symbols in over 100 libraries including the Maryland Historical Society, the Peabody Institute, and the Enoch Pratt Free Library. Perhaps the most striking feature of this work is the liberal inclusion of reduced facsimiles of title pages and excerpts which illustrate a large percentage of the items.

A series of indexes makes it possible to locate a given item readily from several approaches. There is a general index to authors and to titles of anonymous works, a topical index, an index of non-English works, and an index of printers and publishers arranged geographically. From the latter it appears that some 42 mathematical works were published in Maryland during the period, one in Frederick, one in Hagerstown, the rest in Baltimore.

In the limits of a brief review, no extensive comparison with other bibliographies is possible. Suffice it to say that Dr. Karpinski has located many titles in the period covered by Evans' *American Bibliography* not included in that work, and has frequently located unique or additional copies of titles included therein. Because of its comprehensiveness, scholarship, accuracy, legibility and beauty of type, and the special features mentioned above, this should prove to be an invaluable addition to the bibliographical equipment of the day, and an inspiration to scholars and bibliographers everywhere.

MARY N. BARTON.

Kinfolks. By WILLIAM CURRY HARLLEE. New Orleans, Searcy & Pfaff, Ltd., 1934, 1935, 1937. (3 vols.) 2964 pp. \$15.

These volumes are remarkable with respect to the title, the format and the range of material assembled from innumerable sources by the compiler. The work is truly a *magnum opus* of its kind. It is more than a genealogical record of kinsfolk; it is a graphic panorama, for the most part, of men and women who lived and moved and had their being in the social atmosphere of the Old South, from Virginia to Texas. However, the compiler's researches have not been limited to the southern geographical area only, but have extended into other States besides.

The author has had the good fortune to find many co-operators in his monumental undertaking and, as a consequence, has gathered together a vast store of historical, biographical and genealogical material. Particularly valuable, from the viewpoint of the genealogist, is the information given in Mr. Harlee's work with regard to the record sources in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. With meticulous care, these records are classified, the dates they cover are given and their respective places of deposit are indicated. As a consequence, this work serves as a genealogist's guide-post in directing the research worker in the southern field of family history, a want that has long been felt.

The volumes are illustrated by numerous family portraits, maps and photographic reproductions of documents. A separate volume, which goes with the set as a General Index, contains more than three hundred printed pages of names of persons.

FRANCIS BARNUM CULVER.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Vickers-Kimball—Information is wanted regarding Mary E. Vickers, born at Taylor's Island, Dorchester Co., 1823; married Daniel K. Kimball, Sr., and lived in Philadelphia where they moved from Amherst, N. H. Later they lived at Annapolis, Maryland, where Mary Vickers Kimball died July 4th, 1885.

(Miss) Annabell Kimball,
814 N. Washington Street, Baltimore, Md.

Purdy; Ridgely; Hobbs—Desire data on Nancy Purdy, wife of Philip Warfield, who was the son of John & Ruth (Gaither) Warfield of Anne Arundel Co. Also on Mary Ridgely, wife of William Hobbs of A. A. Co., whose dtr. Susannah m. Philip Warfield, Jr., son of Philip above; on John Hobbs of Queen Caroline Parish, father of William above, whose will was dated 7-12-1731, and on Susannah, first wife of John Hobbs above.

Lloyd B. Jones,
817 Penn st., Hollidaysburg, Penna.

Steel—John Steel came to Cecil Co., Md., circa 1740 and is described in deeds of that time as "gentleman, late of the Kingdom of Ireland." His known children were Walter, Jane, Margery, Catherine and Elizabeth. There was one other daughter of John Steel whose surname and married name is being sought. Her only daughter (the grand daughter of John Steel) became the wife of James Gillespie of Cecil Co. prior to 1773.

D. Frank Magee,
523 Country Club Road, York, Pa.

Parrott; Irwin—Would correspond with descendants of: (1) George and Hannah (Martin) Parrott, of early history in Talbot Co., Maryland. (2) John & George Parrott, veterans of the American Revolution. (3) Francis & Mary Parrott, of Easton, Talbot Co., Maryland, in 1793 and earlier. (4) John Irwin, Deputy Commissary at Ft. Pitt in War of American Revolution.

Mrs. G. L. Caughron,
203 Wisconsin St., Neodesha, Kansas.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

March 11, 1940—The regular meeting of the Society was held this evening with President Radcliffe in the chair. The Librarian read a list of the recent acquisitions to the library. Special note was made of the Civil War Library of the late Mr. Harry Bennett Green, presented to the Society by Mrs. Green, and of a bookcase provided for the collection by Mr. Robert E. Lee Russell and other friends of Mr. Green.

The following persons were elected to active membership:

Mrs. Wendell D. Allen	Mrs. William A. Moore
Mr. and Mrs. Nils Anderson	Mr. George T. Ness, Jr.
Mrs. G. Magruder Corse	Mrs. William C. Poe
Mrs. E. Rowland Dawson	Miss Marie W. Presstman
Mrs. Richard H. James	Mr. Richard B. Sealock
Mr. and Mrs. Clyde Robe Meredith	Miss Grace Vernon Smith
Mrs. William H. Thomas	

Dr. J. Hall Pleasants gave a most interesting talk on "Colonial Maryland Printers and Printing."

It was announced that the Marie Worthington Conrad Lehr Memorial Room, provided for by the bequest of Miss Sally Randolph Carter, would be open for the first time this evening. It was regretted that Miss Susan Carter, of University, Virginia, a niece of Miss Sally R. Carter, was prevented by illness from being present to formally open the room. Mr. Laurence Hall Fowler and Mr. John Henry Scarff, the Committee who arranged the room, told the members something about the preparation of the room, most of the articles of furniture having come from the Lehr home, "Montmorency." Adjournment followed.

April 8, 1940—The regular meeting of the Society was held this evening at 8:15 o'clock. A list of donations since the last meeting was read.

The following were elected active members:

Mrs. William T. Biedler, Jr.	Miss Nora E. Gibbons
Major John Vernou Bouvier	Mrs. James M. Hemphill
Mr. George G. Buck	Mrs. Ogle Marbury
Mr. Douglas Gordon Carroll, Jr.	Miss Adelaide B. Wallis
Mr. Albert Diggs	Mr. Raymond S. Williams

The following deaths were reported among our members:

- Dr. Henry J. Berkley, on April 5, 1940.
- Mr. Leigh Bonsal, on April 8, 1940.
- Mrs. Jackson (Anne Lee) Brandt, on March 16, 1940.
- Rev. Charles Lee Reese, on April 12, 1940.
- Mr. David C. Winebrenner, on March 27, 1940.

Mr. John Philips Cranwell and Mr. William Bowers Crane, co-authors of

Men of Marque, were introduced as the speakers of the evening. Mr. Cranwell described privateering during the War of 1812 while Mr. Crane spoke of the design and management of the Baltimore clippers.

The thanks of the Society were extended to the speakers in appreciation of their exceedingly interesting and informative addresses.

Mr. Charles O. Clemson offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Maryland Historical Society consider the advisability of proposing to the respective county historical societies of Maryland, a plan under which there would exist an affiliation between the State Historical Society and the respective county historical societies, to the end that membership in the respective county societies would permit and entitle the county members to hold thereby certain associate membership rights in the State Historical Society.

The motion was seconded by Dr. Theodore M. Whitfield, and carried. The meeting then adjourned.

May 13, 1940—The regular meeting of the Society was held at 8:30 o'clock with President Radcliffe in the chair.

In describing donations to the library and gallery since the last meeting the Librarian called particular attention to the very valuable and interesting collection of sixteen miniatures of the Williams and Greenway families, and a portrait of William Greenway by Charles Jarvis, which were the gifts of Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway, who is also presenting a case in which to display the miniatures in the main gallery. Another interesting gift was a small portrait of the late Governor Albert C. Ritchie, painted from life in 1926 by Miss Millicent Cope, of Philadelphia, being the gift of Dr. and Mrs. Michael A. Abrams. From the estate of the late Richard H. Thompson were received two very interesting small portraits, namely Mrs. Young, the daughter of William and Frances Barney, and the sister of Commodore Joshua Barney; and Mrs. Charles (Rebecca Lawson) Ridgely, the daughter of Dorothea and Alexander Lawson. During the past month the library has received books and pamphlets which are valuable additions.

The following named persons, having been previously nominated, were elected to membership:

Miss Charlotte Clark
Miss Sarah C. Hewes
Mr. G. Allison Long, Jr.

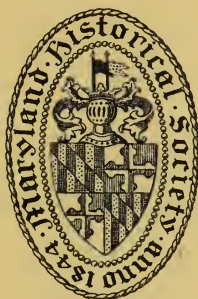
Mrs. J. R. Onderdonk
Mrs. Hughes Robertson
Mr. J. Forney Young

The death of Mr. William G. Wetherall, on April 9, 1940, was reported. Mr. James W. Foster gave a talk entitled "Fielding Lucas and His Times," illustrated with lantern slides. Judge Henry D. Harlan moved that the thanks of the Society be extended to the speaker.

Attention was called to the fact that the regular meetings will be discontinued until the fall meeting on the Society in October next. There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

The Maryland Historical Magazine

For the Family



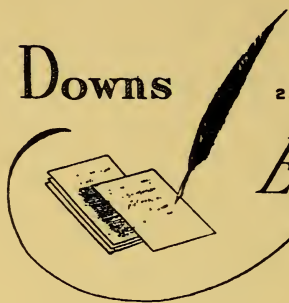
SEPTEMBER • 1940

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BALTIMORE

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THE COUNCIL: The General Officers and Representatives of standing committees—*Trustees of the Athenaeum*, G. Corner Fenhagen; *Publications*, W. Stull Holt; *Library*, L. H. Dielman; *Finance*, William Ingle; *Membership*, Macgill James; *Addresses*, B. Howell Griswold, Jr.; *Gallery*, John H. Scarff.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION: *Chairman*, W. Stull Holt; *Raphael Semmes*, J. Hall Pleasants; *Editor*, James W. Foster.

The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1843, has been engaged in collecting, preserving and disseminating information relating to the history of the State. Through its services to scholars and others in making available collections of research materials, and through its publications, the Society has occupied and always should occupy an important place in the cultural life of Maryland.

Since 1906 the Society has published *The Maryland Historical Magazine*. There are monthly meetings from October to May, inclusive, at which addresses of a historical or literary nature are given. Those interested in the objects of the Society are invited to have their names proposed for membership. The annual dues are \$5.00, life membership \$100.00. Subscription to *The Maryland Historical Magazine* is included in the membership fee of five dollars, as well as the use of the Society's collections and admission to the monthly lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open on every day of the week except Sundays.

The Society depends on the people of Maryland and its friends elsewhere for its maintenance. The gift of documents and books and donations or bequests to the endowment fund, have made it possible to build up a notable historical library. The collections include not only manuscripts dealing with the social, political and military history of the State, but also letters, diaries, business accounts, maps, newspapers, pamphlets, prints and photographs. Only by a continuance of interest in the Society will it be possible to preserve and catalogue its present collections and, of equal importance, to acquire new documents recording the rich history of the people of Maryland. In short, the usefulness of the Maryland Historical Society depends not only upon the number of its members, but upon their generosity as well.

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.



VIEW OF BALTIMORE FROM HOWARD'S PARK

Painted by George Beck about 1796. From the painting owned by the Maryland Historical Society. Landmarks prominent in this view are described in J. Hall Pleasants sketch of the artist in this issue.

Courtesy Frick Art Reference Library

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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SEPTEMBER, 1940

No. 3

BALTIMORE AS SEEN BY MOREAU DE SAINT-MÉRY IN 1794¹

Translated and Edited by FILLMORE NORFLEET

I. A TRIP FROM NORFOLK TO BALTIMORE BY WATER²

May 15, 1794. In Norfolk³ there are two packets or passenger boats that go to Baltimore, and in the latter city two with Norfolk their destination.

These exceedingly fine sailing boats or schooners are not only very nicely fitted up, but have delightful cabins. The passage is eight dollars and a half (48 francs), a price that includes meals when the trip takes a short time, and they calculate the provisions in that hypothesis. On May 15, 1794, as I have already stated, we left Norfolk about ten in the morning on the schooner *President*, com-

¹ Copyright 1940 by Fillmore Norfleet.

² Born at Fort Royal, Martinique, on Jan. 13, 1750, Médéric-Louis-Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry received his legal education in Paris, then returned to the West Indies where he settled in Cap Français. Sent to France in an official capacity, he was elected a representative to the States-General when it assembled on April 23, 1789, became president of the body July 1st, played an important rôle in the organization of the Parisian militia on July 13th, and was charged with the distribution of arms and ammunition on the fateful day that followed. Resigning from the Commune, he became a member of the *Assemblée Constituante* as deputy from Martinique. When that body was dissolved, he fled to Normandy and took passage on the *Sophia*, an American brigantine, which sailed Nov. 9, 1793. Accompanying him were his wife, his son, and his daughter Amenaïde; Mme Dupuy, his sister, her three children, and their servant; M. Baudry de Lozières (later author of *Voyage à la Louisiane*, 1794-1798, Paris, 1802, 1803), Moreau's brother-in-law, and his wife (sister of Mme Moreau de Saint-Méry), their daughter and servant. The rest of the passengers made up sixteen in all. After a storm-tossed crossing of 119 days, the *Sophia* finally sighted the Virginia coast on March 5, 1794. Fuller data concerning Moreau de St. Méry together with his account of Norfolk, Portsmouth and Gosport, Virginia, in 1794, translated and edited by Fillmore Norfleet, appear in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, January, April, and October, 1940, issues. The sources are (1) Part I of the Introduction, pp. xiii-xxix, to Moreau de Saint-Méry's *Voyage aux Etats-Unis de l'Amérique*, 1793-1798, edited with notes and introduction by Stewart L. Mims, Yale University Press, 1913, and (2) the text itself, pp. 2-29).

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-99, printed by permission of Dr. S. L. Mims. The original manuscript is in the Collection Moreau de Saint-Méry, series F., vol. 123, Archives Coloniales, Paris.

manded by Captain Gold, and owned by Mr. Moses Myers,⁴ a Norfolk merchant.

Anchored at quarantine opposite the fort ⁵ we found a vessel from Jérémie ⁶ with smallpox aboard, an event that did not prevent our captain from accepting several passengers for Baltimore from the boat. Among them were M. Sompérat, from Jérémie, and M. Le Sassier, son of a *conseiller* from Louisiana, hence a compatriot of my wife. To the right a little beyond the fort is a large distillery that is being allowed to fall in ruins.

Craney Island,⁷ which always gives the appearance of being in the middle of the river as one sails away from Norfolk, made a pretty backdrop for a long while because of the calm that fell almost as we left the wharf. We were not able to pass the island until quarter after twelve.

At a quarter of two we were opposite Sewell's Point,⁸ and at a quarter after two we came abreast the French frigate *la Concorde* ⁹ anchored in Hampton [Roads]. After another quarter of an hour we passed Point Comfort.

At three o'clock Cape Henry lighthouse appeared on our right, but very far in the distance. From this location the view was exceedingly beautiful, consisting, as it did, of the James River on one side, and the true entrance to Chesapeake Bay on the other.

We chose this moment to have dinner. On board were thirty-nine passengers of both sexes, of all ages, and even of all colors. Several who had no right to the captain's table had already completed their meal in different parts of the ship, and for more than one the repast had been a lesson in frugality rather than an opportunity to exercise an appetite generally whetted by the roll of the boat when it is not strong enough to make one ill.

So slowly did we progress that it was already four o'clock when we arrived off Back River Point.¹⁰

⁴ 1752-1835. Jewish, originally of New York; came to Norfolk about 1786 and established the shipping business of Myers & Company; later Danish vice-consul (1812), Dutch consul (1819), and collector of customs (1828).

⁵ Fort Norfolk, built in 1794 under the direction of the Italian engineer, John Jacob Ulrich Rivardi.

⁶ A town in the Department of the South, French Santo Domingo.

⁷ At the mouth of the Elizabeth River on the western side.

⁸ On the eastern shore of Hampton Roads.

⁹ One of the squadron sent by famine-ravished France to act as convoy for some 130 merchant ships loaded with provisions and assembling in American ports. Under Rear-Admiral Van Stable the ships-of-line had left Brest in December, 1793, and anchored in Chesapeake Bay Feb. 12, 1794. A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire, 1793-1812*, vol. 1, pp. 122-123.

¹⁰ Near Thimble Shoal on the western side of lower Chesapeake Bay.

The excessive heat of the day, the play of the schooner's main-boom caused by the calm, the coolness that descended with the night, and the boredom produced by the slowness of our progress, all combined to make us think of looking for sleeping quarters, but only, however, after the appearance of tea, the customary substitute for an American supper.

The schooner's ten cabins were occupied by some fifteen people made up of a husband and wife or two children in a cabin; the remaining passengers were stretched out on the floor, on the deck, or near the hatches.

16. At five o'clock on the morning of the 16th, we were in the Chesapeake opposite the mouth of the Potomac, at this point 7 or 8 miles wide. We could even make out land to the right. The Potomac River is the boundary separating Virginia from Maryland. The calm had been so absolute we had been merely a plaything of the tides for the entire day. This annoying adversity made the captain decide to cast anchor at 7 o'clock.

A favorable wind having risen in the evening at 7, we weighed anchor, and, once in our cabins, congratulated ourselves for having regained what we had lost during the past 30 hours. At eleven o'clock, however, the wind changed to the north, and it became very cool. From then on, the wind continued to increase in violence, and by 2 o'clock in the morning we were being greatly tossed about by the sea. The schooner, overloaded as it was, had lost completely its quality of good sailing ship.

Huge waves that washed over the bow wet all passengers segregated on deck, causing them to scurry one by one into the cabins looking for refuge. The last to plead for a safe place to stay were some Negresses with their children, who were obliged, like the others, to seek protection. Moved to pity by their plight, a Colonist¹¹ interceded not only for them but particularly for a little creature that he fondled much too tenderly for us not to notice that the color of the child's skin was mute evidence of its mother's fidelity to the gentleman. Because of the pathetic condition of these unfortunate people, it was as impossible not to receive them as not to forget the fine case of itch afflicting all, including the reputed father. Finally, the rough sea made it necessary to tack, and seek—losing all the while 14 miles—anchorage in a little bay at the mouth of the Patuxent, a river that empties into the Chesapeake 18 miles north of the mouth of the Potomac, which empties likewise into the Bay on

¹¹ From the French West Indies.

the west side. We anchored very early in the morning and found that nine fishing boats, sailboats or schooners had already preceded us.

17. My son and I were among the several passengers to go ashore. The place was extremely barren, and yet we had scarcely gone half a mile when one of us killed a snake two and a half feet long. It was black and belonged to the poisonous variety called moccasin by the people in this country. As each of us vied with the other in hitting it with a stick, we saw emerge from its stomach at least twenty eggs of varying sizes.

Several promontories bordering this little bay, which extends east and west, are slightly elevated, especially those on the north side, which must rise at least 40 feet. The shores of this bay are sandy and bordered with pine trees. On the banks stand a few mediocre houses we took pains to examine. The passengers who had brought their guns ashore killed a few little birds, who thus paid with their lives for the delay caused by the wind. A farmer's wife obligingly gave us some excellent milk and then refused to take any money.

The land bordering the Patauxent is used for the cultivation of oats, rye, and tobacco. At the moment, however, they are experimenting with the cotton plant.

18. With the arrival of favorable weather, we set sail at eight o'clock in the evening, and arrived the following morning at the wharf in Baltimore, having keenly enjoyed the approach to the town, which comes into view by stages gradual enough to continually whet one's curiosity. Especially noticeable is the contrast between the right side, a section of the town call the Point,¹² which is nicely built up with new houses that are constantly growing in number, and the opposite side, a sheer bluff rising some fifty feet. A harbor well-filled with boats, ships ready to sail, and flags floating because of Sunday presented a gay scene, and the pleasure derived from this sight made us find everything even more interesting, despite the captain's thoughtless act of waiting until we had almost arrived before asking each passenger for his passage money.

Negroes, who were doubtless waiting around for the small tip they receive for carrying passengers' baggage, took possession of ours. After everybody had said adieu as though they had known each other for a long time, we reached the *Indian Queen*,¹³ an inn someone had said would suit us best.

¹² Fell's Point.

¹³ At the corner of Hanover and Baltimore Streets. In 1794 it was kept by Jacob Starck.

It took ninety-two hours to cover the distance between Norfolk and Baltimore—a hundred and ninety miles of Chesapeake Bay, a body of water that has all the characteristics and even all the dangers of an arm of the sea.

19. When evening arrived, we went for a walk to the Point in order to see some Colonists from Cap Français who were friends of ours. Others came to visit us. The following day we dined with Gauvain¹⁴ at Mad^e Ridgely's boarding house.

We returned a visit to the Colonists Séguin, Cambefort, Genty, my friend and former legal colleague at Cap Français, and Paradé, naval commissioner. I was greatly upset to learn that, while I was coming from Norfolk to Baltimore, my dear friend Berlin had gone down the Chesapeake on his way back to Santo Domingo.

In the afternoon we went for a walk in Howard's Park.

22. We left Baltimore in the morning for Philadelphia. Let us speak then of Baltimore.

BALTIMORE¹⁵

May 1794. This rather large town, the seat of a county bearing the same name, is situated on an arm of the Patapsco River and is the largest and most flourishing commercial port in Maryland. It extends from Harris Creek, on the south, to the large branch of the Patapsco, and each day it is increasing with astonishing rapidity.

Baltimore is divided into two parts by Jones' Falls or the North-west Branch, over which are three wooden bridges.

In 1787 the town had two thousand houses; in 1795 there were three thousand and most of these rather elegant brick buildings that sheltered more than fifteen thousand inhabitants of which a 10th were slaves.

The houses there, of brick and generally of two stories, are fronted by very fine sidewalks that have half their width taken up by entrances to cellars in which the storage rooms and kitchens are located. The sidewalk of the main street is ten feet wide.

The streets are broad, paved, and straight. They run from east

¹⁴ Jérôme Gauvain was then living in Baltimore. Much correspondence passed between the two friends. On April 14, 1794, Gauvain wrote announcing the arrival in Baltimore of Moreau's mother-in-law; on April 20th, Gauvain, the mother-in-law and "little Héloïse . . . with her colored nurse Sylvie" arrived in Norfolk; on April 26th "Gauvain left alone for Baltimore." Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Voyages*, pp. 48, 49.

¹⁵ Written by Moreau de Saint-Méry, doubtless from notes made during his brief stay in Baltimore, and inserted chronologically in the diary. Several references, with dates, to events subsequent to 1794 indicate that material was garnered from newspapers and other sources received after his return to France in 1798. The MS received its final revision about 1815.

to west along the north side of the Basin, and are cut by others at right angles, except a few that go in other directions. The same is true at the Point or Fell's Point. The principal thoroughfare, which crosses the city from east to west, is about eighty feet wide and is called Baltimore Street. The other streets vary from 30 to 80 feet, and Holliday,¹⁶ where the new theatre¹⁷ is located, is almost a hundred feet wide. Some of them bear names that seem to be monuments of gratitude. Certainly the one named Fayette substantiates this.

Carts gather refuse in the streets.

Looking north from Baltimore Street one sees the courthouse beneath which a vault forms a passageway for carriages. This building is two stories high with a wooden balcony and pediment facing Calvert, the street this building terminates. The jail is west of the courthouse. Not all land within the city limits is built up, for here and there gardens are visible. The town is divided into 130 streets, small streets, and alleys; everything, in fact, is laid out properly with future streets—already named—so that the present number of buildings will be tripled, so to speak. The most densely settled part is from Howard Street to Jones' Falls on the east.

Particularly noticeable in Baltimore are many dovecotes and small wall-holes that give asylum to swallows, the people believing that the bird's affection for a house increases prosperity for him who lives within. Thus is the idea of hospitality extended to timid beings linked with what the people believe is the reward: longevity. It would be pleasant to pardon superstition, if no greater errors might be blamed on it. The public buildings in Baltimore are, besides the courthouse and the prison, 3 markets, a poor house, 2 banks—the Bank of Maryland and the Bank of the United States, the Exchange,¹⁸ and a theatre. The courthouse is built of brick.

The principal streets of Baltimore are lighted by lamps similar to those found in other American cities and all of English design.

Saddle-horses in Baltimore are quite handsome, but draught horses are much more in evidence. They are hitched in pairs, and sometimes even by 4's, fives, and sixes, to wagons or carts by means of iron chains. The neat condition of the harness and the carriages themselves bespeaks the scrupulous exactitude of the owners.

¹⁶ Moreau dutifully adds an explanatory "du Dimanche."

¹⁷ The first Holliday Street Theatre, erected in 1794.

¹⁸ In 1794 "an effort was made by a number of merchants to open an 'Exchange' for the transactions of business, and buildings at the northwest corner of Lombard and Exchange Alley . . . were fitted up and used for the purpose . . ." Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, p. 437.

In Maryland are stallions with pedigrees that are published with much fanfare. The price of having a mare served begins at 24 francs, the groom's labors costing an additional 30 or 40 sous. Feed for a horse amounts to 3 francs a week.

The land on which the town of Baltimore is located has two slopes, one from west to east, and the other from north to south. The first is forty feety high; the second is also rather tall.

At the base of this southward sloping hill is the port, which, from the formation of the land, is a kind of basin made by means of three successive narrows formed by peninsulas—lying opposite each other—that begin at the town and terminate at what is really the end of Chesapeake Bay. This body of water, about three thousand *toises*¹⁹ long, runs almost north-west and north-east.

If the scheme for the construction of this Basin is carried out entirely, there will be houses on three of its sides, and the Point, jutting out the farthest and forming the fourth side, will obtain the lion's share. Wharves or quays already occupy portions of the port's 4 sides.

This Basin is from 6 to 7 feet deep. At the Point there is anchorage for vessels of 500 tons burden.

The wharves (for there is no *quai* in Baltimore) are always constructed for the convenience of their owners; because these piers jut out in the water there are, in the direction of the town, marshes dented with wide inlets, while neighboring wharves are just so many breakwaters. All this gives an air of disorder to a place that strict adherence to alinement would not only correct but add one charm more.

Of the three markets in Baltimore, the principal one²⁰ is located at the end of the main street as one approaches the Chesapeake. Market days are Thursdays and Saturdays: on other days only butcher's meat and vegetables are sold.

There are eleven churches or temples in Baltimore proper, and one in the little district that forms Fell's Point or simply the Point. They are, namely 1 German Reformed, 2 German Lutherans, 1 German Calvinist, 1 Anglican, 1 Presbyterian, 1 Mennonite, 1 Roman Catholic, 2 Methodists, 1 Anabaptist, and 1 Nicolite or New Quaker.

How people love to find religious liberty and respect for their conscience! And if the Creator has, among the marvels that continually excite our admiration, a thousand ways of speaking to the heart of man, why should there not be a thousand ways of singing his praises and expressing profound gratitude?

¹⁹ A *toise* is 6.3949 feet.

²⁰ Center Market, so known today.

The Point, its buildings much more modern than those of Baltimore, is increasing prodigiously. Its location on land suited to commercial purposes is the cause of this, and as it grows, the houses of Baltimore reach out toward it more and more, an inevitable sign that the two places will soon be joined. The space that separates them, like the one that corresponds on the other side of the harbor, is still very marshy, but constant work is diminishing this inconvenience, at least on the Point side.

The outskirts of the town to the east and west resemble almost all others in the United States of America.

The increase in population produced by the arrival of the Colonists from Santo Domingo,²¹ who, to mention it while passing, have been received with open arms by the inhabitants of this town, stirred neighboring gardeners to fresh activity; as a result, a quantity of flourishing and attractive gardens have sprung up here and there. But what gives Baltimore an air that is as pleasing as it is unique is a hill, owned by Colonel Howard, that dominates the town on the north. The main residence²² and its dependencies occupy the forward part, while a park embellishes the rear. The elevated situation, the mass of trees, an appearance that evokes, despite restraint, European ideas, produce a mixture of pleasure and regrets in real Frenchmen, and the mind and heart thus find themselves in a spot where they are utterly at home. On the eastern slope of this hill there is a stream called Jones' Falls, its sight and noise producing one charm more. The rocky bed over which the water flows, a grist mill with its turning wheel, and the intermingling of the numerous phases of rural life with those of a commercial and maritime city are extremely pleasing, and linger in the mind of him who returns to the city along the banks of the stream which passes to the east of the big market before emptying into the harbor.

Baltimore has two banks: one, established in 1701²³ and bearing the name of the state of which this place is the capital, has a capital

²¹ After the revolt of August 22, 1791, in which the Negroes laid waste the whole northern plain of the French part of Santo Domingo, the slaves rose again June 21, 1793, and in the general conflict that lasted two days destroyed the wealthy and beautiful town of Cap Français. The stricken colonists fled, many taking refuge in American coastal towns. "On the ninth of July, fifty-three vessels bearing about 1000 whites and 500 people of colour . . . arrived in Baltimore. Many were quartered in the houses of the citizens, who besides subscribed above \$12000, for the relief of such as were destitute. Those more fortunate who brought capitals, entered into trade, others introduced new arts or cultivation in the neighborhood, and with succeeding arrivals from the southern and western parts of the Island, contributed to increase the wealth as well as the population of the town." Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore*, p. 140.

²² Belvidere Mansion, in Howard's Park.

²³ An error; the Bank of Maryland was established in 1784.

of 300 thousand dollars (1,650,000 francs); the other is a branch of the Bank of the United States, properly called.

Vessels calling Baltimore their home port were, in 1790, only 102 and amounted to 13,564 tons, but this number was more than doubled by 1794, the year in which exports were valued at 5,300,000 dollars, a sum equal to more than 29 millions of our *livres*.

But Baltimore is subjected to the scourge of yellow fever. Almost every year since 1793, it has been ravaged by this terrible disease, particularly the section called the Point, which is nearest the sea and the lowest part of the town.

An interest stronger than love of life, however, anchors there all those who believe the promises of fortune rather than the threats of inexorable death; in fact, if this dreadful malady does not cease destroying by the thousands the people who live in this wretched climate, they will, in the end, fortify themselves against the disease by resorting to the unique expedient of predestination, and use that like Turks against the Plague.

There are large inns in Baltimore that serve excellent food either table d'hôte or à la carte.

They have an immense collection of enormous bedroom slippers from which one chooses a pair when going to bed in order that he may have at his door the next morning when he gets up his own shoes or boots all cleaned and polished.

Much difficulty is encountered in obtaining water for the bed rooms. Ice is saved in order to make cool water during the summer.

The gazettes offer from 30 to 300 francs for the arrest of a fugitive slave.

Baltimore's inhabitants are quite friendly toward the French.

Baltimore's river (the Patapsco) was frozen over from the beginning of January to February 11, 1809.

A journalist ²⁴ of this place, having incensed the Americans because of remarks he made when the War of 1812 was declared, had his house demolished; although excessive disorder took place, he was lucky enough to escape.

Located in Baltimore are sugar refineries, rum distilleries, tobacco factories, roperies, paper mills, cotton goods and hardware manufacturies, shoe and boot factories, ship-building yards, and tanneries, etc., etc.

Baltimore is governed by special commissioners and controllers of accounts.

²⁴ Alexander Contee Hanson, Jr. (1786-1819), editor of the *Federal Republican* (Baltimore).

The city is 12 leagues northeast of Annapolis, 75 leagues north-northeast of Richmond, and 43 leagues west-southwest of Philadelphia.

I ate green peas in Baltimore on May 18, 1794.

II. A TRIP FROM BALTIMORE TO PHILADELPHIA BY WAY OF CHESAPEAKE BAY, FRENCHTOWN, NEW CASTLE AND THE DELAWARE RIVER,
MAY 20 AND 21, 1794

May 20, 1794. The commerce between Baltimore and Philadelphia necessitates a method of transportation which would be, by land, too costly and, by the Chesapeake, too long, too uncertain, and sometimes even dangerous during winter: as a consequence, a compromise has been reached.

The method evolved is this: freight is loaded in Baltimore on passenger boats or packets that go to Frenchtown [*la ville française*]²⁵ and from there carts or wagons carry it to New Castle. There, it is reloaded on other packets and transported to Philadelphia. The latter city uses the same method, in a contrary sense, when sending freight to Baltimore.

However, these boats are generally inactive from Christmas to the 15th of March, a season when the Chesapeake is frozen over.

Aided by an east wind, we left Baltimore on the schooner *President* of 35 tons at 8:30 in the morning of May 20, 1794, and went to the Point, where several passengers are always taken on. After losing quite a bit of time, we finally sailed, only to spend a long while yet in the Basin at Baltimore—the wind making it necessary to tack—before we reached the Chesapeake.

When we left Virginia for Baltimore, we were warned not only to take particular care in reserving our cabins on board the packets, but even to mark them in chalk with our names, custom decreeing this kind of proprietary indication for people who reserve their places in advance. We found this rigidly observed in the voyage

²⁵ Two years before (1792), Littleton Waller Tazewell of Virginia, ailing from overstudy at the College of William and Mary, had sailed from Yorktown for a trip north with Bishop William Madison. "Upon our arrival at Elkton," wrote the future governor of Virginia, "but a single hack could be procured. This Bishop Madison and his friend the Rev. Saml McCroskery took for their own use and left Robert Carter and myself to follow them as we could thereafter. Soon after they left us we learned by accident that a line of packets had recently been established between Philadelphia and Baltimore by the way of Frenchtown and New Castle and thence up to Philadelphia. We therefore hired a cart, in which we caused our baggage to be transported, and we walked from Elkton to Frenchtown, where we were lucky enough to procure a shattered old vehicle in which we got safely to New Castle. Here we were detained several days waiting for the packet in which we at last reached the city of Philadelphia." From Littleton Waller Tazewell's unpublished "Family History," now in the possession of Littleton Waller Tazewell, IV, of Norfolk, Va.

from Norfolk to Baltimore, and on making our reservations for Frenchtown in the last-named place, the captain himself gave me the piece of chalk with which to mark the six cabins I had reserved.

When we went on board, we found the marks erased on two of the reserved cabins, and when we wanted to take possession of them, we found them occupied. Our protestations resulted in a lively quarrel which we won only by showing a firm intention of letting nobody take advantage of us. Even the captain took the other side, which only incensed us all the more, so indignant were we at his duplicity. But he preferred his compatriots to us.

The price of a single passage, when meals are provided by the captain, is five quarters of a dollar, about 7 French francs. A Negro pays only $\frac{3}{4}$ of a dollar (4 francs). Beverages are extra. Drinks are paid for separately. A drink of brandy costs $\frac{1}{8}$ of a dollar, 16 sous; a bottle of porter or heavy English ale, $\frac{5}{16}$, about 45 sous; and a bottle of Madeira, a dollar, 5 francs 10 centimes.

On the boat, as elsewhere, drink is the dominating thought. The only thing that made us suspect some sort of law and order existed on board was a little notice warning anyone who entered a cabin with his shoes or boots on that he would be fined a bottle of porter. Happily, the prohibition was silent about dirty feet, or the cabin would be either nearly always unoccupied or else a rich source for fines.

At half past one was served the captain's meal and that of the passengers he had contracted to feed. A dish of beef, white potatoes, cabbage, and ham comprised a repast that had been doubtless planned to induce thirst.

At half past three we were still but 12 miles from the town of Baltimore, and at five-thirty we had only reached Fall Island.²⁶

But this slow progress was counterbalanced by a view of the Chesapeake, lined, as it was, by flourishing plantations on whose soil will grow, so the owners boast, wheat, corn, tobacco, and white potatoes.

More than that, the group of 25 passengers, all travelling for different reasons, strangers to each other for the most part, meeting one another perhaps for the single time in their entire lives, together with the different conversations, and the sleepers, snorers, tobacco chewers, and drunkards that made up that traveling smoking-room, shortened the time for anyone wise enough to watch the scene with an observing eye.

²⁶ Dr. Mims suggests Poole Island.

May 21, 1794. The boat touched bottom in 2 or 3 places, but was not stopped. When night came, we went to bed with hopes that Frenchtown would be reached in a few hours.

And so we did, reaching the place on May 21st at one in the morning. We remained on board until a quarter of five, when a kind of ferry or scow came out to get both passengers and baggage and convey everything ashore.

Frenchtown or *la Ville française* consists of one large dwelling house, a kitchen and other dependencies, and a freight warehouse. It is located on the left bank of the Elk, a pretty river that empties into the Chesapeake a few miles farther down.

They say the name Frenchtown was given the place because a group of Acadians, whom the English had expatriated, settled there in 1715.²⁷

(The English burned it in 1813.)

At Frenchtown are two stage-coaches; one, accommodating 12 passengers, is drawn by 4 horses, and the other, accommodating 9, is drawn by two horses. In addition, there is a wagon that carries the passengers' luggage when there is no room left in the stage-coach boxes or behind.

The fare one way from Frenchtown to New Castle is $\frac{3}{4}$ of a dollar (4 francs). At five-thirty the coachman cracks his whip and thus gives the signal for departure.

Fifteen minutes later, we noticed to our left a belfry and some thirty brick houses which indicated Elkton or Head of Elk, and at six-thirty, we reached Glasgow. From Frenchtown—located in a smiling, neatly kept countryside—to Glasgow, each side of the road, as far as the eye can see, is well planted in flax, wheat, and corn. Oaks and walnuts are the predominating trees. Birds resembling large blackbirds, and turtle doves enliven the scene. The earth is composed of a stiff soil that is slightly clayey. This section, they say, suffers a little from droughts.

Glasgow, eight miles from Frenchtown, consists of a few houses; here the stage stops for a very few minutes in order that the horses may be watered.

The road from Glasgow on is as smiling as before; scattered here and there are horses, cows, sheep, hogs, geese, fowl of all kind, ploughs drawn by two horses tilling the earth, and young girls weeding with hoes. Three miles beyond Glasgow is the line separating the state of Maryland from Delaware.

²⁷ Possibly a slip in transcribing the original. The Acadians came from Nova Scotia in 1755.

It is ten miles more before another house is reached, and then a short stop is made in order to give the stage horses, following the American custom, a large bucket of cool water as soon as the bridle has been removed. At this point, six miles from New Castle, begin to appear the milestones that dot the road from New Castle to Philadelphia.

Particularly pleasing in the 8 or 9 miles that precede New Castle are the hedge rows.

They are formed of hawthorne bushes whose flowers, at the moment are filled with charms the month of May seems to impart to all of nature.

To judge the ecstatic pleasure the sight of these hedges produces, one must be acquainted with the United States and its wooden fences or *hayes sèches*, a wearying sight forever present.

We arrived at New Castle at nine-thirty. It was court-day, and we were extremely curious to see the court in session. There was nothing inspiring about the building, but the mere sight of a jury increases one's esteem for a custom that entrusts trial to a group of men aware of how they have been fashioned and in whom the study of law has not supplanted the study of the human heart. Moreover, however simple may be the temple dedicated to justice, it always awakens feelings of respect in the man who loves it.

New Castle, one of the oldest towns in the State of Delaware, and once even the capital, is located on the right bank of a river bearing the same name. It is situated thirty miles from Philadelphia by land and 40 by water. Its brick houses, numbering about eighty, are not built close together.

This place has a court of common pleas and a jail, a supreme court, and both an Episcopal and a Presbyterian church.

It was founded about 1627 by Swedes who called it Stockholm.²⁸ Then, falling into the hands of the Dutch, it received from them the name of New Amsterdam. Finally, the English gave it the name it bears today. New Castle has known a period of decline, but it has flourished again, and when the breakwater—for the construction of which a rolling mill[?] has been built—is finished, ships will be able to find safe anchorage there during winter.

All ocean-going vessels coming from Philadelphia call at New Castle for two reasons: first, because they can procure chickens and

²⁸ The site of New Castle passed in 1651 from the Swedes to the Dutch, who built Fort Casimir; the Swedes were in control again in 1654, and the Dutch again in 1655, calling the settlement in 1656 New Amstel, after an Amsterdam suburb; captured by the British in 1664, the name was changed the same year to New Castle.

fresh vegetables there, and second, because, if the weather is not favorable enough for venturing outside the Delaware Capes, they can ride safely at anchor until a more propitious moment, and at the same time replace the provisions consumed during the delay.

The stop at New Castle is so customary that a boat is supposedly ready to sail when it has been brought in by a pilot. And there the captain joins it, after he had completed his business in Philadelphia.

After lunching in an inn, filled with a large number of people in town for court-day, we went to the wharf or *quai* in order to board a passenger boat that was to take us to Philadelphia. These packets, 4 in number, are constantly used in this particular transportation. The one on which we engaged passage was a boat called the *Morning Star*, Thomas Moore, captain.

We found ourselves with 3 or 4 passengers who had been traveling companions from Baltimore. Among them was M. A. Murray, a Philadelphia merchant, whose kindness we cannot praise too highly. The rest were total strangers to us up to then.

The New Castle packets are not only very handsome, but are much more agreeably arranged than those from Norfolk to Frenchtown.

A one-way passage costs $\frac{3}{4}$ of a dollar (4 francs); food and drink are paid for separately. Slaves pay only a half a dollar (55 sous). Two of the packets now in use—differing from each other in name only, *Morning Star* and *Rising Sun*—are reputed to be the swiftest boats on the entire Delaware River. With wind and tide favorable, they have been known to make this forty-mile trip in less than three hours.

We set sail from New Castle at 11 o'clock in the morning in order to go up the Delaware, at this point much narrower than the Chesapeake; in fact its width is scarcely over a mile. At noon, having made about six miles since leaving New Castle, we were abreast Wilmington.

Wilmington, located 1700 *toises* from the Delaware, lies between two creeks, Christina, which admits boats drawing 8 feet of water, and Brandywine. The 2 unite about 900 *toises* below the city, then empty into the Delaware in a stream some 100 *toises* wide.

From a distance the view of Wilmington is interesting. The town consists of 6 or 7 hundred houses most of which are built of brick, public buildings, and a workhouse that is particularly outstanding because of its size and belfry. The hill on which Wilmington is located increases the town's attractiveness, at least when

seen from the river. Lighters indicated the creek that leads to the town.

Wilmington has 6 Protestant church, 2 for Presbyterians, 1 for Swedish Episcopalians, 1 for Quakers, 1 for Anabaptists, and 1 for Methodists. In addition, there are 2 markets, one poor house, and a workhouse. An academy formerly existed, but it was ruined by the War of Independence.

Wilmington is the largest town in the state of Delaware. Its magnificent mills²⁹ have a very ingenious method of loading and unloading grain.

The town was founded about 1735.³⁰ Between it and Philadelphia is a packet line which serves as a means of commercial communication.

From New Castle to Wilmington and beyond, the Delaware bank is charming and diverse, the eye always discovering something interesting; but the opposite shore, that of the Jerseys, is, in contrast, a sad disappointment.

Towards noon we were at Marens Hook, the name a wealthy inhabitant has given his wharf. Little land is under cultivation in the vicinity, which abounds, rather, in natural meadows that are sometimes a trifle wooded.

Five miles distant is Chester, a small village of some 600 houses. We arrived there at 2 o'clock.

At three o'clock Fort Mifflin, mounted with 10 guns, loomed up before us, and at three-thirty the city of Philadelphia came into view.

From the distance the sight was extremely interesting, and the presence of a fort seemed to indicate that the city is important.

As one draws nearer, the southern part of the town becomes more and more visible, and then, finally, the town itself comes into full view with the belfry of Christ Church—of the Anglican persuasion—located in North 2nd Street apparently indicating the center of the place and giving it the appearance of a city.

At 4 o'clock we approached the river bank on which the city is located, but there were so many ships at the wharves, we lost more than an hour before our boat could dock, an annoying delay con-

²⁹ The Brandywine Mills.

³⁰ Fort Christina, built by the Swedes shortly after landing at The Rocks in 1638, was taken over by the Dutch in 1653 and renamed Fort Altena. Within ten years the English had arrived. Andrew Justison had land he owned between Brandywine and Christina Creeks surveyed about 1730 for the purpose of laying out a town. Four years later Thomas Willing, his son-in-law joined him in the enterprise, and the town was named for him—Willington. No formal government existed until 1739, when a new charter changed the town's name to Wilmington.

sidering the fact that it had taken only five hours to make the trip between New Castle and Philadelphia, although the tide had been against us when we left.

The good impression of Philadelphia one gets when viewing it from the river receives a keen disappointment when one arrives, for the town's entire panorama is blotted out by an array of wharves. Their presence makes one realize that not only has cupidity been the underlying reason for their construction, but that neither good taste, nor health, nor pleasing design, in fact nothing has been considered in planning them. Moreover, whatever attractive features are evidenced in Philadelphia's magnificent plan have vanished before the influence of scheming commercial ideas which are incapable of producing anything beautiful or great.

Although praise is certainly due the rapidity of the New Castle packets, there is something incomplete in everything planned for public utility in America. Thus they have completely ignored the fact that packets almost continually in service ought to have in a city the size of Philadelphia a warehouse for the merchandise shipped in. The boats merely wait until the freight is called for. When a passenger arrives, the boat has left, and without the captain; not knowing what day the boat will return from its rounds, the passenger does not know when to come back, because not only does the sailing hour change each day with the tide, but the boat's arrival depends altogether on the weather. If, at last, the passenger is lucky enough to discover the ship's location, then, if it rains, he cannot find a conveyance to transport his luggage; this is the worst blow of all. In no place in the world has there been less consideration for the public; yet, they say, it is for him that these packets have been established. Of course, no one could miss the [French] police spies who busy themselves with people's private affairs under the pretext of insuring safety. But a country without any police is exceedingly ridiculous and primitive where it is made apparent in a thousand ways and at every moment that people do not care much for anything and [where sloth becomes a pleasure] enjoy even sloth.

Finally arrived in Philadelphia—that is, having landed—Goyard⁸¹ and I took particular pains in finding lodgings. We were aided in this task by Messrs. Longuemarre and Marcet,⁸² our travel-

⁸¹ A passenger with Moreau on the barkentine *Sophia* from Le Havre to Norfolk, Va.; a confidential agent of Daniel Mérian & Co.; see *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 48, pp. 13, 18, 19, 22, 24-29.

⁸² Longuemarre de la Salle came from Le Havre to Norfolk on the ship *Sussex*. Marcet was a colonist from Santo Domingo who had come on the same ship. *Ibid.*, Vol. 49, p. 22 and note 29.

ing companions in Norfolk. After many futile attempts and numerous refusals, somebody told us of a wretched asylum near the Angelican Church in North Second Street. Once installed, we received visits from L'Ami and Milhet of Cap Français. We paid Sureau a visit. We saw Prieur, Mme Seur, Aubert and his family, and a crowd of our unfortunate colonial friends.

May 22, 1794. Goynard, my son, and I attended Congress which was then in session. I had a letter of introduction from Colonel Wilson³³ to Colonel Parker,³⁴ congressman from Virginia. During a moment in which he left his seat in order to refresh himself at a table—reserved for congressmen—covered with earthen-ware jars and bottles of molasses, I presented him Colonel Wilson's letter. After reading it, he made some very kind remarks. Then, during a lull in the congressional business, he presented me to the body as someone who had been a member of the *Assemblée Constituante*, and asked that I be admitted to the session in the capacity reserved for distinguished visitors. The proposal was acted on favorably, and the speaker invited me to take a seat. My American heart was not only filled with pride but quite touched by the honor.

After the adjournment, I accompanied my two traveling companions to take a look at the house being built for the President, but long before reaching the goal, I noticed two men making frantic gestures in a carriage coming rapidly toward us. Goynard, whose eyesight is better than mine, told me that the two people seemed to be signaling to me.

Preoccupied with that thought, I stopped; the carriage continued coming toward us, and in a few seconds, it stopped in the street opposite me. One of the two people jumped down and came forward with outstretched hands; it was Beaumetz.³⁵ The other, not so agile, followed; it was Talleyrand.³⁶

³³ Willis Wilson, of Gosport, Va. *Ibid.*, Vol. 48, p. 22 and note 29.

³⁴ Josiah Parker, of "Macclesfield," Isle of Wight County, Va.; congressman 1789-1801.

³⁵ Bon-Albert Briois, chevalier de Beaumetz, born in 1769, was a member of the Sovereign Council of Artois and president of the *Assemblée Constituante*, elected May 27, 1790. He championed trial by jury and publicity of judicial debates, but voted against the sale of Church property and eligibility of Jews. At heart he was a monarchist, frequenting Mme de Staël's salon. In 1792 he was accused of trying to re-establish the King's power, but escaped, thanks to Talleyrand's aid, and emigrated the same year, first to England, then to the United States, where he associated himself with Talleyrand in land speculation. On May 27, 1796, he sailed from Philadelphia for Calcutta, India, where he died about 1800. For a letter from Beaumetz to Moreau, see Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Voyages*, pp. 267-269.

³⁶ Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand (1753-1848), finding Paris too uncomfortable in 1792, procured a passport in September, and left for England—under the pretext of urging British neutrality—where he became part of the group of Constitutionalists surrounding Mme de Staël at "Juniper Hall," in Surrey. Requested to leave England

Both had come over together from England. What joy! What happiness! What repeated greetings and embraces! After this first delightful effusion, they asked me to dine with them. I returned to my lodgings immediately, imparted my happiness to my dear ones, and then rushed off to the appointed place.

On April 29, a French gazette had announced the plan of Talleyrand and Beaumetz to come, with many other Frenchmen, to the United States at the beginning of February. Being totally unaware of the news, I was completely taken by surprise. What a dinner! How many events of the past two years we evoked, and what trivia we had to hear and relate. It was certainly the *infandum regina jubes*.

After dinner we all went to see Blacon,³⁷ the comte de Noailles,³⁸ and Talon.³⁹ Astonishment and pleasure were, in turn, their lot. While we talked, it hailed and thundered as if the heavens wished to make us remember all the unhappiness from which he had escaped.

Later I made several visits. I welcomed La Colombe⁴⁰ and Cadignan, and you can well imagine that La Fayette furnished the main topic of conversation. I ended my rounds by a visit to the public library established through the efforts of Benjamin Franklin.

On that day Talleyrand told me that for 3 weeks following August 10th, he had driven about in his uncovered carriage during the day time sometimes with Louis Narbonne⁴¹ and sometimes with Beau-

in 1794, the "monstre mitré" boarded a merchantman and in July landed in Philadelphia, where he lived in dreary lodgings on North Third St. Visits to New York and an exploratory trip north where interlarded with much social life and abortive speculations in land. On June 12, 1796, he sailed from Philadelphia on a "wretched Dutch vessel," the *Den Née Prove*, for Hamburg.

³⁷ "Le blondin Blacon," as Talleyrand called him, became one of the group of *émigrés* who gathered to talk, eat, and drink in Moreau's Philadelphia stationery shop during 1795-1796. In a letter from Talleyrand to Moreau, dated Paris, Feb. 11, 1797, he sent "mille compliments à Blacon dont la petite pigriesche de femme se porte bien." In October, 1798 Blacon's in-laws, Mme and Mlle de Maulde, asked Moreau to aid Blacon in his plan to return to France. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Voyages*, pp. 248, 400.

³⁸ The vicomte Louis-Marie de Noailles (1756-1804), brother-in-law of Lafayette, had served in America during the Revolution, been deputy from Nemours to the States-General and president of the *Assemblée Constituante* in 1791. Emigrating to the United States in 1792, he remained over a decade, during which time he was active in founding the French colony called Asylum in Luzerne County, Pa. He returned to France in 1803 and was sent to the West Indies, where he was killed during a sea battle within sight of Havana.

³⁹ Antoine Omer Talon, once imprisoned in the Chapelle de l'Abbaye, had come to Philadelphia in 1792 and taken an oath of allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania. He was instrumental, along with Noailles and Dupetit-Thouars, in founding Asylum in 1794.

⁴⁰ Having served as Lafayette's aide-de-camp during the American Revolution, La Colombe reaped further reward from his General by being appointed *aide-major* in the National Guard. When Lafayette, failing in his attempt to attach the army under his command to the constitution, fled towards supposed safety on August 19, 1792, La Colombe had been one of the group of officers—some 53 horsemen—who had accompanied him until the Austrian outpost near Rochefort terminated the flight.

⁴¹ Louis de Narbonne Lara (1755-1814).

metz, that he made them change their sleeping quarters every night, and that nobody ever said anything; that Narbonne, provided with a passport, left France disguised as a Swiss; that Beaumetz, who escaped arrest by using his family name of Briois (in particular at Bolbec where Lacroix de Chartres, a member of the Convention, made use of this altered version and thus allowed him to escape) became a sutler, rolled his cart about for two weeks, escaped abroad, and finally reached England.

Talleyrand also told me another story. Going one day to the home of Danton, minister of justice, in order to procure a passport,⁴² he entered simultaneously with a man who had come to relate the news that the people had clapped into prison Montmorin de Fontainebleau despite the fact that he had been acquitted by the Revolutionary Tribunal. Shortly after, a delegation from the Abbaye Battalion came to the Minister and said: "The jury has committed the infamous act of acquitting Montmorin, and the judges thought they were obliged to pronounce sentence accordingly. But we have decided that this crime shall not be perpetrated. We are sure that Montmorin is guilty and have taken him to prison. We have come to ask you for an order directing that he be held there."

"Are you sure," asked Danton, "that he is guilty? Well, he must be. The voice of the people never accuses wrongly."

Then, turning toward his secretary, Danton said, "Draw up an order of detention." As these men were on the point of going away, one of them, dressed in a coat and wearing a Revolutionary cap adorned with a large red feather, extended his right arm:

"Citizen Minister, I have a word to say."

"Speak."

"I know a great general named Monneron who lives on rue des Gravillion; he has fought against Brunswick⁴³ several times, and yet, he is idle."

His eyes ablaze, Danton advanced towards the speaker and said, "You are unworthy of the name citizen. You know of a great general . . . You know that he has fought against Brunswick. You know that Brunswick sullies the soil of France, and yet you say nothing about all this. Is it merely by chance that you are offering this information to the Minister of Justice?" Each of the men then said, "He is right . . . Why didn't you speak before? . . . Why didn't you reveal this knowledge?"

Danton continued: "Yes, I repeat, you are a miserable citizen;

⁴² "The bishop d'Autun," noted Gouverneur Morris, Sept. 8, 1792, in his diary, "has got his Passport." *A Diary of the French Revolution*, Vol. 2, p. 541.

⁴³ Duke Charles William Ferdinand of Brunswick (1735-1806).

but bring General Monneron before the *Conseil* this evening and we shall see whether he can be used . . .”

The mob went away, delighted with the idea that one of its members had discovered the existence of a great general whom they were to present to the *Conseil* that evening.

I learned from La Colombe that he had escaped from the prison in Antwerp. He had just been playing a game of whist. After the rubber was over, he pretended he was peeved with the prison superintendent, his partner, then excused himself on the pretext of having a fever, saying he was going to bed. He withdrew to his room, disguised himself as a Dutch priest, and went out, a pistol in one hand and a dagger in the other. His servant, having made a tour of inspection much earlier, had informed him that everything was safe. Then, following instructions, the servant warned the other prisoners of his master's escape. They regretted they had not adopted La Colombe's idea of escaping en masse but had sworn to effect their release or die together. For a moment, several thought of following his example, but their courage failed them in the end. Pillet,⁴⁴ former major of the Basoche and aide-de-camp of La Fayette, was the only one of them to escape; he left unarmed.

After walking a long way La Colombe became very tired and sat down to rest on the side of the road. Suddenly he heard a noise and fearing for the 12 louis he had in his pocket, he took his dagger in his right hand, his pistol in his left, and, when the person drew near, cried out, "Who is it?"

"Only I," came the answer. He recognized Pillet's voice, welcomed him, gave him his pistol, and they continued their way together.

On arriving at Berg-op-Zoom, they were stopped at the guard house where the officers and soldiers evidenced extreme sorrow for the plight of the two persecuted priests from France and allowed them to pass.

In 1792 La Colombe went from Rotterdam to England. He took a boat at Bristol and arrived in New York at the beginning of May, 1794.

May 23, 1794. I paid visits to Colonel Parker, Marcet, Longue-marre, Georges, Doctor Rush, Terrier,⁴⁵ and Doctor Rittenhouse.

Several people of color came to see us.

May 24. We left Philadelphia for New York at one in the morning.

⁴⁴ He emigrated to the United States and was in Philadelphia, Nov. 11, 1794. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Voyages*, p. 192.

⁴⁵ Another *émigré*. His father arrived in Philadelphia from Bordeaux, Nov. 16, 1794. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

GEORGE BECK, AN EARLY BALTIMORE LANDSCAPE PAINTER

By J. HALL PLEASANTS

It would appear that the first painters in the United States who confined their work to landscapes were three Englishmen who at the close of the eighteenth century came to America and selected Baltimore as the scene of their first painting activities on this side of the ocean. These were George Beck, William Groombridge, and Francis Guy. Nearly a century earlier Justus Englehardt Kühn of Annapolis, and more recently Ralph Earl of Connecticut, who were primarily painters of portraits, had done occasional landscapes, and they and other early American portrait painters not infrequently introduced landscapes as backgrounds to their portraits. Lack of space, however, prevents more than mere mention by name of Francis Guy and his large output of local views and of the less prolific William Groombridge. We can here only concern ourselves with George Beck, whose "View of Baltimore from Howard's Park" is reproduced in this number of the *Magazine*.

Why Beck, a landscape painter of considerable ability, should have escaped the attention of all recent writers on early American painting is only to be explained because his work, apparently always unsigned, has until recently lacked attribution and because the half dozen known landscapes by him are scattered. The "View of Baltimore from Howard's Park," now for nearly ninety years in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society, was presented to the Society as by "Bec."

The writer's attention was recently called to an interesting sketch of Beck which appeared a hundred and twenty-seven years ago in an American periodical. This sketch, written in the flowery style of the day by an anonymous Baltimore author, possibly Robert Gilmore the art collector, under the title "A Biographical Memoir of the Late George Beck, Esq." was published in *The Portfolio* for August, 1813 (3rd series, vol. ii, no. 2, pp. 117-122).

From this memoir it is learned that George Beck, born at Ellford, England, was the youngest son of a Staffordshire farmer. Leaving school at nine, he was largely self educated. In his late teens he secured a teaching position at Tamworth, doubtless in the free grammar school there. But impaired health, unquestionably tuberculosis in view of his subsequent history, interrupted his studies for holy orders which he had begun in 1770. He seems to have been promised

a "mathematical professorship" in the Royal [Military] Academy at Woolwich, but a change in the ministry in 1776 interfered with this and resulted in his appointment to the corps of engineers and an assignment to the Tower of London to draw military plans and maps. It was apparently at this time that he became interested in painting.

He married in 1786 a young lady whose name is not disclosed but "in whose accomplished mind he inspired reciprocity of taste and sentiment." In 1789 "on account of declining health" he resigned his government position and for two years taught the daughters of the Marchioness Townshend. In 1791 he was engaged to complete Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland*, but the sudden death of its publisher, Hooper, put an end to the project.

For the next few years Beck devoted himself to landscape painting, spending much time in the mountains of Wales. It was then that his thoughts turned to America as a field for his brush. To quote the memoir:

The spirited productions which were the result of this [Welsh] tour, gained him many admirers, who suggested that in America he would find a theatre for the exercise of powers that might afterwards enrich his native country. Yielding to their solicitations he embarked for the United States, and landed at Norfolk in the year 1795. After a short residence in that city he visited Baltimore, where he received such flattering marks of approbation as induced him to send for his lady, and relinquished the design of an immediate return to England. He had not been long in this city when he received a visit from Mr. Hamilton of the Woodland [near Philadelphia], a gentleman whose name is most honourably associated with the history of the fine arts in America. He was so much pleased with the works of Mr. Beck that he engaged him to paint views of his elegant villa, and when there, invited him to settle in Philadelphia. He accordingly repaired thither, accompanied by his lady, who soon after their arrival established a seminary for the education of young ladies, over which she presided with an assiduity that found its reward in seeing many of her pupils among the fairest ornaments of that city.

In the spring of 1804, after a residence of seven years in Philadelphia, he is said to have begun a tour of the western states which had as its result his settlement in Lexington, Kentucky. As he had arrived in Baltimore in 1795 it would appear that he had spent about two years here before going to Philadelphia in 1797. It also seems likely that the "View of Baltimore from Howard's Park" was painted three or four years before the turn of the century.

We are told that after settling in Lexington in 1804, where the remainder of his life was to be spent, Beck busied himself with painting, teaching school, mathematical pursuits, chemical experiments, composing poetry, and translating the Odes of Anacreon,

several books of the Iliad, Virgil's Georgics and the Aneid, and the Odes of Horace. He published observations on the comet in 1811. He was hopeful of securing a chair in the recently established Transylvania College "but on September 18 occurred an inflammation of the lungs which settled in a consumption," and he died December 14, 1812. The memoir concludes with a panegyric upon his character and ability, declaring that "of his talents as a painter it were superfluous to speak: his own pencil has reared his monument and eulogy." After her husband's death Mrs. Beck continued to conduct the school. She planned, it is said, to publish his original poems.

The "View of Baltimore from Howard's Park" is an oil painting 37 inches by 45½ inches. It is obviously a faithful panoramic view of the city from the north near what is now the site of the Washington Monument, at the intersection of Washington Place and Mt. Vernon Place, on land then owned by General John Eager Howard (1752-1827), the Revolutionary soldier and the owner of the large estate, "Belvedere," extending northward from Centre street to Jones Falls. The "Belvedere" mansion was situated near what is now the intersection of Chase and Calvert streets. The southern end of this estate, which was open to the public, was familiarly known as "Howard's Park."

The buildings shown in the painting which can be identified with absolute certainty are the Court House, the large building just to the right of the center of the painting, standing in what is now the space between the Post Office and the present Court House, with a passageway running beneath the building on the ground level, the old Court House thus straddling Calvert street; and the First Presbyterian, or "Two-Steeple Church," which stood at what is now the northwest corner of Fayette Street and Guilford Avenue. In the picture it appears to the left of the Court House. The church fronted on Fayette Street and as a consequence the artist viewed it from the north, or pulpit, end. It has been suggested that the building with three tiers of windows, behind the trees at the right, is intended to represent St. Paul's Episcopal Church, but other views of St. Paul's show only two tiers of windows. The harbor, with the town lying around it, is seen in the distance. One of the most interesting objects in the view, almost lost sight of in the reproduction, is a wind-mill of early design. Its brown wooden arms and box-like housing rise against the water separating Baltimore Town from Fells Point, then the shipping centre of the town, where many of those who made their living from the sea had their offices and homes.

PRESBYTERIANS OF OLD BALTIMORE ¹

By JOHN H. GARDNER, JR.

This paper presents some outlines of the story of a sturdy people. To be sure, they have not always been easy to live with, nor have they always endeared themselves to others by their amiable qualities. But none can deny the sturdy quality of their religious faith. And speaking even objectively, as an historian might, the influence they exerted in the formative years of this nation, and in the State of Maryland, counted very definitely. Lest this sound boastful, however, perhaps I should place alongside this statement the opinion of King James the First of Great Britain. He once had his feathers badly ruffled by a Presbyterian Parliament. Thereupon he confided to one of his courtiers that "Presbyterianism is no religion for a gentleman!"

In origin, the Presbyterian Church derives its American sources mainly from the Scotch, the Scotch-Irish of Ulster, and the Huguenot exiles from France. One must bear in mind, however, that in mode of thought and government they are first cousins of such Calvinistic groups as the Reformed, who found their roots in Holland, or Germany or Switzerland, and who, taken together throughout the world, now number in all some forty-two millions.

In Maryland, under the leadership of Francis Makemie, churches were established on the Eastern Shore between the years of 1670 and 1700. The Presbyterian Church was held to be a dissenting sect by the American branch of the Anglican Communion, which was the established church of Maryland at that time. It flourished only where strong-minded Presbyterian settlers demanded to be allowed to worship God in their own way.

The origin of the Presbyterian Church on the Western Shore of Maryland traces back to a scandal in the Episcopalian Church. I hesitate to recite events better left forgotten, but the story explains some important facts. These facts, by the way, were placed in my hands by the researches of Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, and I may also add that I have the gracious permission of the present rector of St. Paul's to use them. It seems that in 1714 the rector of St. Paul's Parish, then located at the head of Colgate Creek, was one Reverend William Tibbs. He is described as having little spirituality, but a

¹ Address before the Society at its meeting December 11, 1939.

prodigious desire for strong drink and ample fees. He so scandalized the good people of his parish that finally a number of the vestrymen, led by Mr. Thomas Todd, sued in the court of Baltimore County for permission to use Mr. Todd's home as a place of meeting for a dissenting congregation. Having this permission, they secured the Reverend Hugh Conn, of Glasgow, who preached for some time in the Todd home. This house stood at North Point and was burned by the British in 1814; the present dwelling being erected on the same site. Mr. Conn preached later in a house near Curtis Bay, and died some years afterwards in Bladensburg.

When Baltimore Town was formed in 1729, several of the settlers apparently, or some who came soon after, were Presbyterians. Whitfield, the famous evangelist, notes in his diary that when he visited Baltimore in 1740 he found "close opposition" from the Presbyterians. One of this group apparently was Dr. William Lyon, later one of the founders of the First Presbyterian Church of Baltimore when it was formally organized in 1763.

The story of *The Rise and Progress of the Presbyterian Church in Baltimore Town* was told years afterwards by the Reverend Dr. Patrick Allison, first minister of the First Presbyterian Church. From a pamphlet with that title, one paragraph relates

The advantageous situation of the Town for Commerce induced a few Presbyterian Families from Pennsylvania to settle in it about the year 1761, who, with two or three of the same Persuasion, that had emigrated from Europe, soon formed themselves into a religious Society, and had occasional supplies, when they assembled in private Houses, though the owners were liable to a Prosecution on this Account, as the then Province groaned under an unrighteous and *irreligious* Establishment for the Support of which all Denominations were taxed, and the Law required every House of Worship, used by the Dissenters, to be registered and licensed. They proceeded, however, in this way undisturbed, and soon raised a small wooden Building for the more orderly Celebration of Divine Service.

This first church, by the way, was in use for only two years, being only a small log building later turned into a neighborhood carpenter shop. The congregation soon increased enough to erect a brick church, which in turn had to be enlarged ten years later to accommodate the growing membership. This brick building stood on the site of the present downtown postoffice, surrounded by a burying ground wherein, as the painstaking records of the trustees tell us, members of the Church might be buried free of charge; but if not for members, each burial cost five shillings ("hard money"). In addition, if anyone wished to rear a monument above a grave, he must pay five pounds for the permission.

It had been the intention of the congregation to erect this brick church by means of a lottery, following the practice common in those days. Though it may have been successful in building other churches, we are obliged to confess that in this case the lottery was a complete failure, and even on being tried a second time, failed again. Perhaps later Presbyterians are thereby fortified in their faith that a Providence overrules some possible mistakes! (It may also be remarked that no one at that day had ever heard of bingo.)

So far as the Revolutionary War was concerned, the lay leaders and pastor of the Presbyterian Church sided, to a man, with the colonial cause. Indeed, it has often been charged and possibly must be admitted that they welcomed the cause of independence right heartily. Samuel Purviance, for instance, was chairman of the local Committee of Safety. Such families as that of John Smith left sons not only who led the affairs of First Presbyterian Church ably, but who served their country in distinguished capacities. Robert served as Secretary of the Navy; his brother Samuel not only in the Revolution, but also as Major General in the War of 1812; and even a grandson, General John Spear Smith, served as president of the Maryland Historical Society for twenty-two years from the date of its founding, in 1844. All Baltimoreans know the story of William Patterson, who landed in America with two shiploads of powder; one for Washington's army, as a gift, and the other with which to set up a business. The streets and parks of Baltimore still bear these honored Presbyterian names; Sterret, Gittings, Gilmor, Buchanan. It was not an accident that Col. James McHenry was both Secretary of War in Washington's Cabinet and superintendent of the Sunday School of First Presbyterian Church.

And as the congregation grew, it added distinguished families who are remembered with pride and gratitude today. Mr. Alexander Brown, first of the American line, arrived in Baltimore in 1800 from Ulster. Succeeding generations of that family shared in the leadership of the congregation in a remarkable way. Indeed, Dr. John Chester Backus in 1859 was authority for the statement that the congregation owed more to Mr. George Brown than to any other single person for the progress that had been made during his pastorate. The present building of the Church was made possible by the generosity of this family, as indeed the Brown Memorial Church also. First Church not only in its early years, but all through its history, has had a remarkable group of singularly high-minded people who were well endowed with resources to accomplish their

cherished ends. But since this sketch is designed to stop short with the occasion of the dedication of the present church edifice in 1859, no mention can be made of the many great families still represented in the life of the congregation.

It may be well for a moment to digress from the thread of the story of First Church to say something of the situation which faced the Church at the close of the Revolution. Since the Presbyterian Church in America had its origin in Scotch, Scotch-Irish and Huguenot people mainly, naturally it grew in proportion as it ministered to the areas where such people lived. Pennsylvania, for instance, was a stronghold of Presbyterians. But during colonial days, the Church grew relatively slowly, centering its line of congregations mainly in the seaboard colonies, or where the pioneers were forming rude settlements inland.

Nor should we think of such people as the Scotch-Irish as essentially a deeply religious clan. The pioneer settlements then were rough places for the most part, with too many of the people indulging in a rough and tumble sort of life. Drinking and fighting were common recreations. A good Indian-fighter was a hero. Law and order were purely relative abstractions to many. Indeed, you will remember that one of the first rebellions against the Federal authority was the famous Whiskey Rebellion which had to be suppressed by the army. One historian has something pointed to say about these turbulent but extremely capable Scotch-Irish settlers of Western Pennsylvania. The Quakers always prided themselves on the fact that they kept peace with the Indians. But, says this historian, you must not forget that no Indian ever lived who dared break through the line of Scotch-Irish settlements to play havoc with the Quakers!

However, these turbulent people with their combination of valiant and sturdy qualities became a deeply religious people when first in the seaboard areas and later inland, the Church brought the Evangel to them. The wild turbulence of their lawless frontier was succeeded by a remarkable religious energy which helped to conquer a wilderness and establish order and Christian living in an incredibly short time.

At the close of the Revolutionary War, the atmosphere of religion was chilled by the rise of a movement that gained headway in nearly every civilized country. This Romantic Movement was in full swing. It produced revolutionary doctrines not only in politics but in religion as well. Deism and free-thinking flourished. Tom Paine's writ-

ings were popular, as well as those of Voltaire and Rousseau. Infidelity and deistic doctrines were popular among the so-called intellectual classes. Not only was there intense confusion in the groping attempts to form the government of the State of Maryland, and of the United States, but this confusion reflected itself in nearly every line of human activity.

The First Presbyterian Church of Baltimore, however, had its first minister, Patrick Allison, together with a group of strong-minded men and women who held their conviction deeply, and who worked for certain great and important objectives. Allison himself had long been the warm friend of General Washington, had accompanied him as his chaplain on the southern marches of the Revolutionary army, had acted repeatedly as chaplain of the Continental Congress, and was somewhat of a power in this State. He shared with John Rodgers of New York and John Witherspoon of Princeton, the distinction of being one of the three most influential clergymen in the whole Presbyterian denomination of his time. Indeed, it is said that he served on every important committee which formed the organization and confession of faith of the American Presbyterian Church. As a man of brilliant scholarship and eloquent pulpit ability, he labored ceaselessly and with constantly increasing effect, not only in his own congregation, but for a multitude of civic and national projects. Backed by his large and influential congregation, he was in a position to bear an important formative influence in the young State of Maryland.

A chance to test his influence rose almost immediately after the Revolution. Since the colonial Anglican Church in Maryland had been an established church, supported by government, it was but natural that the clergy of that Church should endeavor to make it the Established Church of the newly formed State. Though the Anglican Church of the mother country had by this time cast it off, root and branch, what is now the Protestant Episcopal Church was, in parish organization, the strongest church by far in this entire area. A bill, therefore, was introduced in this Legislature, with the approval of Governor Paca, to make the Episcopal Church the Established Church of Maryland. This was anathema to all Presbyterians. Having fought and won a war for freedom, they did not propose to put their necks again under the yoke. First in the pulpit of First Church, Dr. Allison inveighed against such "oppression"; then followed a series of newspaper articles later published in a pamphlet entitled *Candid Animadversions*, under the pseudonym of "Vindex." If you

bear in mind that "animadversions" means "criticisms," even a casual reading of this pamphlet justifies the adjective "candid." One or two sentences bear repeating here;—one from the introduction, and another from the conclusion of the argument:

Nor is it my wish to disturb the Reverend Dr. S.² in his retirement from the world and the things of the world, where he is inhaling copious draughts of sublime contemplation, purifying himself by a course of mental recollection, contrition and extraordinary devotion for the mitred honors to which he is destined.

and—

. . . the blood of heroes says no . . . an immortal leader says no to ecclesiastical usurpation raising her hideous head in our fair land. . . The God of heaven says no, who expects and commands them to stand fast in the liberty wherewith he has made them free.

All history knows the result of that private war of good Dr. Allison. The separation of Church and State has long since been a principle of our country, but too commonplace nowadays for many to even wonder how it came about.

But lest I represent Dr. Allison merely as a controversialist, may I hasten to sketch into his portrait some relieving details. While he was winning his fight to prevent an established church, he was the warm friend of the rector of St. Paul's Parish, so that in his battle for separation of Church and State there was nothing personal. Indeed, at this very time, he was cooperating with the rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church and with Archbishop Carroll of the Roman Catholic Diocese in establishing the first free library of the city, and in creating a new school, called Baltimore College (although this latter project was not ultimately successful).

As well as being a champion of the Church to the outside world, Dr. Allison was equally careful so to frame the government of the church itself that human rights should be protected. The question of the right of free speech agitated not only the young states, but also the Presbyterian Church itself. It was because of his influence in the Presbytery of Baltimore that it adopted the following resolution on April 21, 1790. A proposal was made then to discipline "those who publish opinions contrary to the light of nature, or to the known principles of Christianity . . ." Presbytery declared for the right

² Evidently Rev. Dr. William Smith, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania and founder of Washington College, Chestertown. He was elected to the office of Bishop but for some reason was never consecrated.

of Free Speech in unmistakable terms, phrasing any opposition to it as

a sentiment inconsistent with the civil power existing in our happy country which permits and ought to permit every inhabitant to publish what he pleases for or against natural or revealed religion in whole or in part.

It may be well also to point out that in protecting free speech and the principle of the separation of Church and State, Dr. Allison was acting exactly as an intelligent Presbyterian would be expected to act. The word "Presbyterian" inherently implies representative government. Dr. Allison, therefore, in these as in other situations, was merely running true to form.

The congregation of First Church grew rapidly. In 1782, Colonel William Fell, of Fell's Point, deeded to the Committee (trustees) an acre of ground first known as the Eastern Burying Ground, located on lower Broadway and held by the Church until 1873, when the site was formally abandoned. Three years later the Committee also purchased from Colonel John Eager Howard the land known as the Western Burying Ground (where Westminster Presbyterian Church has been built, at Fayette and Greene Streets), which is familiar to Baltimore as the resting place of many famous honored dead. It is interesting to note that although these two burying grounds are now in the heart of the city, Dr. Allison thought that they were far enough removed never to be encroached upon.

In 1789, the congregation had grown to such a size that a new church was decided necessary. Built on the same site as the old, it was completed in two years, and served until the present edifice was dedicated in 1859. It was known as the old "Two Steeple Church," and was described as "a spacious, elegant Church capable of accommodating above one thousand Hearers . . . and remains a noble monument of the Builders' generous Zeal." It had a brick floor, and a large gallery. Square pews rented for substantial sums. For music, it had no organ at first but a precentor who "lined" the hymns. It was heated by four huge stoves which were not abandoned until 1842 when Dr. Backus whimsically lamented how he missed the sexton, as a kind of sacred rite, noisily stirring up all four stoves just before his sermon. The sexton, of course, sat in his famous green spindle chair under the pulpit. It is remarkable to note that a grandfather, father and son successively occupied the office of sexton for more than a century of time, from 1826 to 1930.

An interesting sidelight on the life of the Church in those days comes to us in the published diary of Noah Webster, the lexicogra-

pher. As a young man he journeyed to Baltimore in June, 1785, and sought permission to open classes in music and for the study of French. His diary notes his frequent breakfasts with Dr. Allison, who offered him the use of First Presbyterian Church for his singing school. Mr. Webster then selected ten men of the Church and trained them that summer until September, when they sang in Church, and as Mr. Webster enthusiastically reported, "astonished all Baltimore." During this period also, young Mr. Webster was composing his lectures on the English language, portions of which he read to Dr. Allison over the breakfast table, and at Dr. Allison's request, first delivered them in the Church, thereby starting a lecture tour that definitely fixed his life's vocation.

When George Washington died in 1799, Dr. Allison was so grieved by the loss of his dear friend that his health began to fail. He had served the congregation of First Church from 1763 faithfully and capably, and had the respect and affection of everyone. His remarkable intellect and Christian personality had impressed itself deeply upon the city. The *Historical Discourse* written by Dr. Backus in 1859 describes Dr. Allison accurately and finely as "a man of parts." Unfortunately for us, by his own order all of Dr. Allison's papers and writings were destroyed after his death, so that we are deprived of much rich material which would undoubtedly throw light upon this interesting period of history. One specimen only of his writing remains in the records of the Church. The "Pastor's Staff," his gold-headed cane, has been bequeathed to each of his successors in turn, and with their names engraved in gold bands upon it, is one of the prized relics of the Church today.

Before Dr. Allison's death in August, 1802, the congregation was endeavoring to secure an assistant for him who would become his successor. They first issued a call to Dr. Archibald Alexander, later to become famous in Princeton. He, however, declined the call when he discovered that some objection existed to his strict notions of Church discipline. A second candidate was invited to preach—the remarkable Dr. Thomas Glendy. Dr. Glendy had barely escaped with his life from Ireland years before, and he was recommended strongly to First Church by President Jefferson. A minority of the congregation favored his election as pastor, but ultimately the majority favored issuing a call to Dr. James Inglis, a former law-partner of Alexander Hamilton in New York, who had abandoned law to read theology under Dr. John Rodgers. Dr. Inglis accepted the call, and was pastor until his death in 1819, a man fit to succeed his

distinguished predecessor. Since a minority of the congregation favored Dr. Glendy, they decided at this time to withdraw and established the long-discussed Second Presbyterian Church. This was accomplished in 1802, so that the city then had two strong Presbyterian churches instead of one.

In First Church, on the eve of the War of 1812, it was decided to take the drastic step of installing an organ. This mightily offended a number of people, even though the records of the Committee show us that the organ was brought to the Church from New York City on the schooner *Consolation*. But these same records contain the fervent protests of several indignant families.

In 1814 the story is told that a messenger arrived breathless at the Church one Sunday morning with the news that the British had landed at North Point. Waiting only for the benediction to be pronounced properly, the congregation streamed out, women and children to safety, and the men to the road where the invader was expected.

The gracious pastorate of Dr. Inglis came to a close suddenly in 1819. Two years previously an unfortunate incident had occurred which marred his happiness deeply. He arrived at the mid-week lecture service one night not in condition to speak well because that afternoon he had accepted the proffered hospitality of too many families on whom he had made pastoral visitations. Acting upon a protest from some of the people, he sought to be released from the pastorate at once, but the congregation prevailed upon him to remain with them. If anyone sees any element of humor in the situation, let him read the account of it which Dr. Inglis penned with his own hand. It will cure anyone of making light of such an incident, for his final years of ministry were saddened by the unfortunate occurrence.

It was during Dr. Inglis's ministry that Baltimore first heard of Sunday schools. In 1815 a vacant store building was rented by the Church, and the work of instructing youth in religion was begun, which formerly had been carried on only in family groups. As I mentioned before, Colonel James McHenry, of distinguished name, was one of the first superintendents of this Sunday school.

Following the close of the Napoleonic Wars, the force of the Romantic Movement had spent itself, and was succeeded in this country by a more normal era. Baltimore shared in the rapid growth which took place in the entire United States southeast of the Mississippi River. The atmosphere of religion quite changed. Deism was

largely forgotten. It was a Presbyterian habit, then, to report once a year to Presbytery on the "State of Religion," and the following extract from the 1814 Minutes of Baltimore Presbytery reflects a note of optimism which explains the fortunate growth of the Presbyterian Church in Baltimore in the next decade:

In all our churches appearances are promising. The leaven has fermented and is leavening the whole lump. The mustard seed is rising and the little stone cut out without hands from the mountains is increasing in magnitude. Public worship is everywhere better attended, both in the morning and evening of the Lord's Day. There is greater sense of the importance of religion, Family Worship is more generally practised, and dissipation is less relished, and the pleasures of the world are embittered to many. Infidelity is less openly avowed. Its pestiferous voice is only heard in a whisper and its bold front when it appears is generally discountenanced. The spiritual principle has acquired a commanding influence over many minds impelling an increased and increasing number to bear an open testimony to the Truth at the Holy Table.

The third minister of First Church was a young man named William Nevins, who settled in the city in October, 1820, and for the next fifteen years wrought a brilliant work in the pastorate. As a young preacher with remarkable evangelical gifts, it was his fortune to preach the famous sermon on March 7, 1827, when a revival occurred in which over two hundred persons made religious professions, and through which the whole city was stirred. In company with Dr. John Breckinridge, then pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, and the Reverend Mr. Summerfield, a Methodist missionary in Baltimore, William Nevins had participated in a remarkable preparation which culminated in this outstanding revival season. It was Dr. Backus years later who frankly attributed much of his own success to the effects of Dr. Nevin's remarkable ministry. In 1835, Dr. Nevins, after several years of ill health, finally passed away.

During the interval when Dr. Nevins was on leave of absence in the West Indies, hoping to regain his health, a strange episode occurred. One James McCulloh formally sought permission of the Committee for the use of the Church in which to hold the National Convention of the Democratic Party. It was at this Convention that Martin Van Buren was nominated for President. Certain repercussions followed this permission, however, and in the correspondence of the Committee these protests are still recorded. A solemn resolution therefore appears in the minutes that never again shall the Church be used for anything but a religious purpose.

With the coming of the youthful Dr. John Chester Backus, in

1836, a whole new era began in First Presbyterian Church. A scion of the famous Backus family in Connecticut, a gifted scholar, a man of exquisite insight, he seemed to combine many rare qualities of personality in a most harmonious fashion. Though his modesty constantly declined credit for his remarkable ministry, it was his statesmanship which developed the resources of First Presbyterian Church as well as aiding the growth of the Presbytery of Baltimore. Within a year after he came, First Church was host to the Committee of General Assembly which organized the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. It was Dr. Backus also who renovated the old Two Steeple Church in 1844 to better adapt it to the uses of the day. Following a visit to Scotland, he formed a friendship with the Reverend Dr. Thomas Chalmers, and brought home from that trip the idea of systematic benevolences which was an entirely new idea to this country, but which is now a commonplace in Church methods.

Dr. Backus's pastorate was singularly blessed in many ways. Though his methods were gentle, he did not hesitate to take drastic steps. He interested himself in what he called "colonizing"; that is, creating new churches in Baltimore Presbytery as the city grew beyond old limits. He recognized the need of establishing new churches, and after mature thought, Franklin Street Church was organized by asking a number of Presbyterian families to leave his Church, and Second Church as well, and providing for them the funds to erect a new building in 1844. The story of this colonizing is an interesting one. For when he retired, Dr. Backus had established eighteen new Presbyterian churches in the city. A legend which seems to have real substance of fact is that when Dr. Backus decided a new church should be built, he was accustomed to read out the names of a number of heads of families from his pulpit, inviting them to meet with him. He would then explain the need for a new church and ask them to sell their homes where they lived and erect new homes in the vicinity of the church site he had chosen. It is a tribute to the affection that his people bore him that they followed his invitations over and over again. Nor did Dr. Backus ever spare himself by keeping his chosen families. Repeatedly he testifies to the real sorrow it gave him to advise "the firstlings of the flock," and "the very flower of the congregation" to leave him to start these new enterprises.

Shortly after 1850 the need of removing First Church congregation to a new site began to be discussed. Eventually this resulted in the selection of the present location of the church at Madison Street

and Park Avenue. Work was begun on the present building in 1854, following plans executed by N. G. Starkwether. As the work progressed, Mr. Starkwether was assisted by a young English architect, Mr. E. G. Lind. On September 25, 1859, the congregation of First Church held a farewell service in the old Two Steeple building, to which all the old members who had gone out to other churches were invited to return. The following Sunday, October 1, 1859, the new church was dedicated, substantially as it stands today, except that the towers were added in 1874. The building was dedicated free of debt, although it represented an outlay of about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, provided by the generosity of a faithful congregation. The Brown family alone gave more than one hundred thousand of this amount. The delicate beauty of the edifice still stands as a witness of the vital faith of the generation which built it. And the fact that it still serves its purpose testifies to the sturdy quality of their building.

Since this sketch was designed to deal with old Baltimore Presbyterians, this would seem a logical stopping place for this casual narrative. It is offered seriously as a reminder to us of our great heritage from a sturdy people.

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH MEMBERSHIP, 1766-1783

From the original subscription book for the support of the minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Baltimore during the years 1766 to 1783, made available for this purpose by Dr. John H. Gardner, Jr., the names of 304 persons have been transcribed by the editor and arranged for convenience in alphabetical order. Representing the leading dissenting group in the population, they supply a partial list of the inhabitants of Baltimore during these years. The book, obviously kept by the Secretary of the Committee, contains five complete rosters dated, respectively, Sept. 10, 1766, Sept. 1, 1770, July 19, 1773 (2 drafts) and Sept. 1, 1783. Since in the original each list is arranged numerically by pew numbers, many duplications occur, most if not all of which have been eliminated in the rearrangement. Three of the rosters bear the autographs of the subscribers. The first for 1773 includes leaders in the Committee of Observation like Samuel Purviance, John Smith and William Buchanan. Each list indicates changes made from time to time as members died, moved away or shifted to other pews, so that a great many names have been crossed out. These, however, have been included in the cumulated list here given. Significant notes following names have been included, with indication of the roll in which they appear.

Dates, following the names, so far as they agree with the dates given above, indicate the particular list or lists in which the names appear. Other dates (for example "Patton, Abram, May 12, 1769") indicate that such entry appears on the roster of next earlier date, in this case that of 1766. Obviously each roster, served as the official record till a new one was prepared. It is therefore assumed that Patton, although his name is in the roster for 1766, first united with Dr. Allison's flock in 1769. Names omitted because not decipherable are few.

The pledge which heads the roster of 1766 is as follows:

We the Subscribers do hereby oblige ourselves to pay yearly or every year the Several Sums by us affixed to our Names respectively, for the Support of the Revd. Patrick Allison he continuing to officiate as Minister in the Presbyterian Congregation in Baltimore Town, which Sums Shall be half yearly paid to the Collector appointed by the Committee of Said Congregation. Witness our hands this Tenth Day of September one thousand Seven Hundred & Sixty Six 1766.

Similar but not identical expressions head each of the succeeding rolls.

The subscriptions evidently were voluntary and varied according to the means and liberality of the members. The largest amount promised by one person was £10 2s 6d, pledged by Mark Alexander in 1783, though this was nearly equalled by John Smith's £8 and William Spear's £7 10s in 1766. One pew in 1783 shared by three "takers" produced £12 a year. Some pledged less than £1.

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH MEMBERSHIP, 1766-1783

Adair, Christie & Buchanan	1766	Bull, John	1773, 1783
Aitkenhead, George	1766	Burney, John	1773, 1783
Aitken, Andrew	1783		
Aiton (?), Thomas	1773	Caldwell, James	1766, 1770
Alexander, John	1773, 1783	Calhoun, James	1770, 1773, 1783
Alexander, Mark	1766, 1770, 1773, 1783	Calhoun, Wm.	1766
Allen, James	1773: no given name; 1783	Cannon, Isaac	Sept. 1778: "Removed"
Allison.	See Hughes, Allison & Hughes	Carmichael, Duncan	1766, 1773
Anderson, James	1766, 1770, 1773	Carson, Hugh	1766
Armstrong, David	1773, 1783	Carson, James	1773
		Carson, Samuel, Jun ^r	1773
		Caulfield, Capt.	Jan. 15, 1781
		Caulfield, Robert	1783
		Chambers, George	1773; Sept. 1, 1775: "Resigned"
Bailey, James	1773: "Resigned"	Chamier, Dan ^l .	1766, 1770; March 1777: "Deported" (or "Departed")
Barney & Stricker	1783	Christie, R., Junr.	Feb. 8, 1775:
Being (?), Alexander	1783	Christie, Robert	1770, 1773
Bentalou, Paul	1773, 1783	Clark, John	1773; Apr. 10, 1775: "resigned"; 1783
Biays, Joseph	Aug., 1781; 1783	Clemen(t)s, Jno.	1766, 1773
Black & McConnell	1773	Clendenning, Wm.	1770
Blair (?), Charles	July 1, 1781	Clopper, Cornelius, Junr.	1773, 1783
Blakely, —	1783	Cooper, J.	1783
Blanchard, Samuel	1783	Cooper, William	1783
Boyd, Andrew	1773, 1783	Coulter, Dr.	1773
Boyd, Jas.	1766	Coulter, John	1783
Boyd, John	1766, 1770, 1773, 1783	Courtenay, Hercules	1766, 1770
Brown, David	Sept. 1777, 1783	Cox, Mrs.	1773
Brown, George	1783	Cox, Jas.	1766, 1770
Brown, John	1773, 1783	Cox, Mary	1783
Brown, Justus	1773, 1783	Cravath, Lemuel	1766, 1770, 1773
Brown, Samuel	1770	Creavy (Creevey), Hanse (Hans)	Mar. 1777; 1783
Bruce John.	See McMechan, Alexander	Crosby, Josiah	1773, 1783
Bryden (Brydone), James	1783		
Buchanan, A[ndrew]	1766		
Buchanan, William	1766, 1770, 1773, 1783		

- Cross, Samuel May 4, 1770; 1770: "elopd"
- Davidson, Andrew 1773
- Davison, John July 7, 1772
- Deaver(?), John 1773; Sept. 1, 1775: "resigned"
- Dewitt (Divitt?), Thomas 1773
- Donaldson, Alexander Dec. 1775, 1783
- Donaldson, Joseph 1773, 1783
- Dugan, Cumberland March, 1781, 1783: "resigned"
- Duncan, William 1770, 1773, 1783
- Dunlop, William 1766
- Elliot, Thomas 1773, 1783
- Emmit, David 1779, 1783
- Evans, David 1773, 1783
- Ewing & Brown 1766
- Ewing, Thomas 1770, 1773; Oct. 4, 1774: "Resigned"
- Finlater. See Ross & Finlater.
- Folger, Capt. 1773
- Folger, Frederick 1783
- Forster, Abm. 1766
- Forsyth & Payne 1766
- Fraser, Hugh 1770
- Frazer, James 1773
- Galbraith, Wm. 1766
- Gallaway, James 1766, 1770, 1773
- Gambie(?), Wm. 1766
- Garritson, Cornelius 1773, 1783
- Gilmor, Robert 1773, 1783
- Gordon, John Oct. 16, 1769; 1770, 1773, 1783
- Gowld(?), John 1773, 1783
- Griest (Grist), Isaac 1773, 1783
- Griffith, Benjamin 1773
- Hadien(?), John 1766
- Hall, J. C. 1783
- Hall, Mrs. Margaret 1773, 1783
- Hall, Philip 1773, 1783
- Hammand(?), Gri - - - 1783
- Hanna, William 1773
- Harris, Charles Sept. 4, 1776
- Harris, David 1773, 1783
- Harris, William 1766, 1770, 1773: "gone away"; 1783
- Hart, John 1766, 1770, 1773
- Haslet, Samuel June 5, 1780, 1783
- Haslett, Moses 1773, 1783
- Haslett, W. 1783
- Hawkins, James 1773
- Hawkins, John 1773, Sept. 25, 1774
- Hawkins, William 1773
- Hay, John Jan. 15, 1781
- Hay(e)s, James Nov. 26, [1773?] 1783
- Hayes, John 1783
- Heath(?), Samuel 1783
- Helm, Gore(?) 1783
- Helm(s), George 1770: "Helems"; 1773
- Henderson, Robert 1773
- Hindman, Robert 1783
- Holliday, James 1766, 1770, 1773: "Gone." Also spelled Haliday and Holiday
- Holms, John 1783
- Howell, Jehu 1770, 1773: "Out of town"
- Hughes, Allison & Hughes 1766
- Hughes, Christo[pher] 1773
- Ireland, Mr. 1773, 1783
- Islar, Geo. Sept. 1, 1772
- Johnston, Christopher 1773, 1783
- Kelso, James 1766, 1770, 1773, 1770: "Ditto for a gentleman unknown"; 1783: "for a gentleman unknown."
- Kennedy, Murdoch 1770, 1773
- Kennedy, Patrick 1773: "To pay one-third of ye above. N. B. P. Kennedy will pay but is accountable for no part of the above seat"
- Key, Andrew 1783
- Kidd, John Mar. 1, 1771
- King, W. 1773
- Kingston, Nathaniel 1783
- Knox, William 1773: "till John Riddle's return Sept. 1st."; 1783

Lawrence, Mrs.	1773	McLure, Alexander	1766, 1770, 1773: "Dead"
Lawrence, Daniel	1773	McLure, David	1766, 1770, 1773
Lawrence, Richard	1783	McLure, John	1766, 1770, 1773, 1783
Lawson Stenhouse & Mackie	1766	McMechan, Alexander	1766, 1770, Mar. 1, 1771: "for John Bruce"; 1773
Lieth, Alexander	1766, 1770	Mack, Geo.	1766
Ligget. See McElderry & Ligget		Mackie (Mackey), Ebenr.	1770, 1773: "resigned"; 1783
Little, John	1766, 1770, 1773: "Dead"	Magoffin, Joseph	1773: "resigned"; Sept. 1, 1778: "resigned"
Long, Alex.	1766	Malcom, And (?)	1766
Long, James	June 10, 1778	Marshall, James	Sept. 1, 1772; 1773
Long, Thomas	1773: "gone away"	Marshall, Samuel	1773
Lowrey, John	1766, 1770: "dec'd."	Martin, John	May 1, 1780; 1783
Lowrey, Robert	1766, 1770	Mather, Capt.	1783
Lowry, Widow	1773	Mather, John	1773
Lux, George	(after Sept. 1778)	Mattison, Aaron	1766, 1770, 1773, 1783
Lyon, William	1766, 1770, 1773, 1783	May, Benjamin	1773, 1783
Lyston, James	1773, 1783	Mease, Wm.	1766
McAlister, John	Mar. 1781, 1783	Merryman, John	1766
McBryde, Hugh	1783	Miller, Wm.	1766
McCabe, John	1773	Mo - - -, Jno. J.	1766
M'Candless, George	1773, 1783	Moore, Robert	1770, 1773: "for Eliz th Payne & Self"; 1783
McClellan, John	1766, 1770: "Mc- Cleyland"; 1773, 1783	Moore, Ruth	1773
McClelland, David	1766 and 1770: "McCleyland"; 1773: "resigned"	Moorehead, Michael	1773
McConnell, ———.	See Black & McConnell	Moreton, David	1773
McConnell, Charles	1773	Morrison, Hans	1773, Jan. 1, 1781
McCord, James	1783	Morrison, Samuel	1773, 1783
McCullough, ———	1783	Mosher, James	1783
McCullough, James	1783	Mosher, Philip	1783
McDonogh, John	Mar. 1, 1776	Myers, Charles	1783
McElderry & Ligget	1783	Neale (?), William	Mar. 1, 1782
McFaddon, J. & J.	1783	Neill, William	1770, 1773, 1783
McGaughen, William	1770	Newton, Capt.	1773
McGuffen, Joseph	1770	Nicholson, Capt. James	Mar. 1, 1777
McHenry, Daniel, & Son	1773	Nickoll (?), William	1773; 1783: "Nicoll"
McHenry, James	1783	Oliver, Robert	1783
McHenry, John	1773, 1783	Orrick, C.	1766
McIllroy, Alice	1773	Pannell, Edward	1773, 1783
McIllroy, Fergus	1773, March 1, 1776: "dead"		
McKim, Alexander	1773		
McKim, John	1773: "Resigned"		
McKim, Robert	1773		
McLaughlin (?), George	Aug. 5, 1766		

- Pannell, John 1783
 Patrick, J. 1783
 Patterson, William 1773, 1783
 Patton, Abra^m May 12, 1769; 1770, Mar. 1, 1774
 Patton, Matthew Mar. 4, 1771; 1773, 1783
 Payne, Mrs. 1770
 Payne, Elizabeth 1773
 Payson, — 1783
 Pearson, Mrs. 1766, 1770: "Mrs. Person"
 Pearson, Henry 1766
 Pearson, John 1773: "resigned"
 Pennell (Pannell), John March, 1781, 1783
 Pierce, Humphrey 1773, 1783
 Pierson, Sarah 1773
 Pilkington (?), Thomas June 7, 1780
 Plowman, Jonathan 1766, 1770, 1773
 Poe, David Sept. 1776, 1783
 Poe, George Sept. 1778, 1783
 Polemus, Joseph 1773: "resigned"
 Purviance, John 1783
 Purviance, Robert 1766, 1770, 1773, 1783. Also 1783: "for Hugh Young"
 Purviance, Samuel, Jun^r 1773, 1783

 Riddle, Robert 1773, 1783
 Robb, William 1783
 Robinson, Andrew Mar. 1781: "Robeson"; 1783
 Robinson, Ephraim 1783
 Roddey, Sa. 1766, 1770
 Rodgers & C. Orrick 1766
 Rogers, Mrs. 1783
 Rogers, Widow Aug. 1, 1781
 Ross & Finlater 1783
 Rusk, David 1766, 1770, 1773, 1783

 St. Clair, William 1773
 Salmon, George 1773, 1783
 Sanderson, Francis 1773
 Sanderson, Margaret 1773
 Service (?), Capt. 1773
 Shields, David Feb. 20, 1779
 Sinkler, William 1770

 Sloan, James 1783
 Smith, Jas. 1766, 1770, 1773: "Resigned"
 Smith, John 1766, 1770, 1773, 1783
 Smith, Joseph 1773, 1783
 Smith, Nathan^l 1770, 1773, 1783
 Smith, Sam 1773, 1783
 Smith, Thomas 1773, Mar. 1, 1776: "given up"
 Smith, W. 1783
 Smith, William 1766, 1770, 1773
 Somerville (Somervell), James 1783
 Spear, John 1783
 Spear, William 1766, 1770, 1773, 1783
 Stenhouse. See Lawson Stenhouse & Mackie
 Stenhouse, Alexander 1770; Dec. 1775: "gone off"
 Sterett, James 1766, 1770, 1773, 1783
 Sterett, John 1773, 1783
 Sterling, James 1783
 Stevenson, Henry 1766
 Stewart, David 1766, 1770, 1773, 1783
 Stewart, Robert 1783
 Stoddard, Capt. Aug. 1, 1781
 Stodder, David 1783
 Stricker. See Barney & Stricker
 Swan, John 1783
 Swan, Matthew 1773, 1783

 Taylor, Mrs. 1783
 Taylor, Alexr. Sept. 1, 1772
 Taylor, J. (or I.) 1766
 Taylor, William 1773, 1783
 Thomas, Robt. 1766
 Thompson, Jno. 1766, 1770, Mar. 1775: "dead"
 Thompson, John Sept. 1, 1781, 1783
 Thompson, William 1783
 Timsey (é), Edward 1783
 Toole, Susannah 1783
 Torrance, Charles 1773: "Torrens" June 24, 1780; 1783
 Tulor (?), George 1773: Resigned (?) 1775

VanBibber, Abm.	1770, 1773, 1783,	Williams, Geo.	1766
		Williams, Joseph	1773, 1783
Walker, Mrs.	1773	Williams, Joshua	June 18, 1768
Walker, Robt.	1766	Williamson, David	1773, 1783
Wallace, —	1783	Williamson, John	1783
Wallace, John	1773	Wilson, Capt. Hugh	1783
West, Benj.	1766, 1770: "Resigned"	Wilson, Stephen	1773, 1783
Westbay, Wm.	1766, 1770, 1773	Wilson, William	1766, 1773, 1783
Whadon(?), Alexander	May 11,	Young, Charles	1773
1780		Young, Hugh	Mar. 1777, 1783

BUCHANAN FAMILY REMINISCENCES

[A glimpse of Baltimore a century and more ago, together with some of the customs that then obtained in a representative family—the Buchanans—is supplied in the following reminiscences set down by Miss Amy Hutton of Brookeville, Maryland, as she had them long since from her late mother, Mrs. Orlando Hutton, née Sydney Claire Buchanan. For this paper the Magazine is indebted both to Miss Hutton and to Mrs. Mark Sullivan who brought it to our notice.

It was in 1759 that William Buchanan, a merchant of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, moved to Baltimore and set up a shipping business. He served on the committee that built the First Presbyterian Church, was a commissioner of the town, was appointed in 1777 by the Continental Congress commissary general of the Army, and two years later declined a proffered appointment to the United States Senate. He died in 1804.—*Editor.*]

Only five of the twelve children of William Buchanan and Esther Smith lived to grow up—great aunts Sydney, born 1753, Mary, 1757, Margaret (always called Peggy), 1758, Grandfather William, 1762, and Great Uncle James A., 1768. Aunts Sydney and Peggy never married. Aunt Mary (known to Mother and her sisters always as Aunt Allison) married a Dr. Allison¹ who died leaving her with one child, Esther, who married a Mr. George W. Brown and had seven children. Great grandfather, shortly before his death near the close of the eighteenth century, caused to be built two houses on Gay Street exactly alike, separated by a small piece of ground, for his daughters. Aunts Sydney and Peggy lived in one, and Aunt Allison and her daughter Esther and her family in the other.

Grandfather William was considered a confirmed bachelor. He had no business occupation and went into the consular service. His younger brother James succeeded his father in the shipping firm of Smith and Buchanan. This was a family, as well as a business, connection, for John Smith and William Buchanan were brothers-in-law, John having married Mary, William's sister, and William married John's sister Esther. They established a shipping business in Baltimore and became very prosperous. Their ships were of the fast sailing kind known as "clippers" and were built at different points along the Atlantic coast, many of them in Chesapeake Bay. They

¹ Dr. Patrick Allison, first minister of the First Presbyterian Church.

had ships in all the Seven Seas, that were trading vessels, bringing great quantities of Oriental and East Indian goods, as tea, silks, crepes, china, spices, oils and also West Indian tropical fruits. They had their own counting house and wharf, still known as "Buchanan's Wharf." Great uncle married a Miss Calhoun and had seven children. Grandfather William, the bachelor, went to the Isle of France, a French possession in the Indian Ocean northeast of Madagascar. It was a port of call for many of the vessels en route for the Orient. It had been settled first by the Dutch, who named it Mauritius, after an Elector of Saxony, then the French took it, called it l'Ile de France, settled it, and established spice plantations worked by negro slaves from Africa. Some of these plantation owners were wealthy, and belonged to the French upper class or gentry and lived according to French custom and fashions.

Grandfather Buchanan soon became acquainted with them and promptly fell in love with the eldest daughter of Monsieur Merven, who owned a spice plantation, and was married in 1804 to Mlle. Marie Louise Merven. She had a sister Elise who later married the Governor of the nearby island of Bourbon, also a French possession. His name I do not know. Grandfather and Grandmother had five children. The first, William, died in infancy. Then four girls, Esther, Louise (always called Lise) then Amelie, and Sydney, our mother. Grandfather expected to remain only a few years in the consular office at Port Louis, intending to return to the U. S. to bring up his family among his relatives. But time slipped by, and while arranging his affairs to return he was taken with a violent tropical fever and died after three days' illness. This must have been in 1817. Grandmother then wrote to Uncle James, telling of his death and that she would carry out his wishes.

As soon as Uncle Buchanan received the news, he sent off a swift sailing vessel to take Grandmother a letter saying that arrangements were being made for her journey and by what ship, and when it would call at Port Louis. When the ship arrived, she said good-bye to all her relatives and her native land, and embarked with her four little girls, a negro maid, and such of her possessions as she could bring. The voyage lasted three months. Rounding the Cape of Good Hope, the vessel encountered a violent storm which frightened Mother so much that she was ever after afraid to go on the water, even in a safe steamboat. The ship stopped at St. Helena for water. At that time Napoleon was held there a prisoner by the English. At last the wearisome voyage ended at Baltimore, and when Uncle

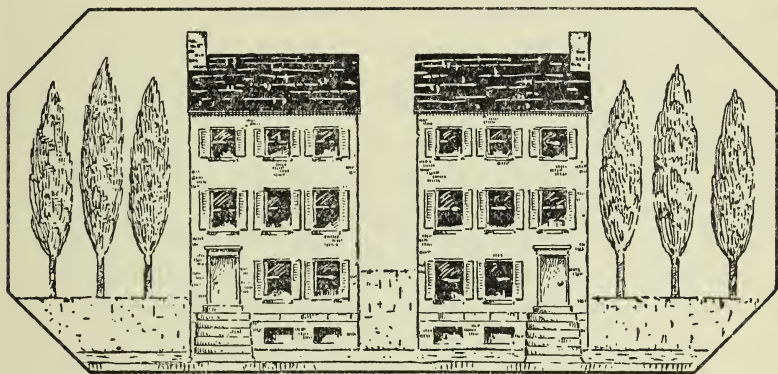
Buchanan was informed of its arrival he hurried down to the dock in his double carriage with his negro coachman to meet his French sister-in-law and his little nieces. He went on board to greet them and the captain, and then arranged with the custom officials about their baggage. The India muslins and crepe shawls were listed as wearing apparel, but he advised Grandmother to put them on the children, so they left the vessel each wrapped in a crepe shawl. Her silver tea service and four solid silver vegetable dishes were considered dutiable. Then he took them to the house of his two sisters on Gay Street, where they were to live.

These two aunts, Sydney and Peggy, were old ladies, very set in their ways. They had two elderly servants whom they had owned but had set free long before, Abram the butler and Matilda the cook, who were just as set and precise as their mistresses. There were other maids who came and went from time to time, but these two were family fixtures, and considered themselves so. The habits of all of them were inexorably fixed. They lived by the clock. Every thing was done every day in the same way, and at the same hour, as the day before. Shortly before each meal Abram would come into the dining room with a small roll of stair carpet. This he unrolled gradually, laying it carefully over the floor carpet from pantry to cupboard to sideboard and around the table and walked on it while setting the table and bringing dishes from the kitchen. When all was ready he called the ladies (after taking up the carpet strip). I do not know if he put it down when clearing up after the meal, but he probably did. Mother told us how she would sometimes come into the dining room and, perched on one of the broad old Chippendale chairs, watch him fascinatedly. He polished the silver on a certain day of the week, the knives after each meal, standing them upright in the mahogany knife boxes at each end of the sideboard.

I have no knowledge of his other duties, except taking a drink of water to the ladies every afternoon at four o'clock. They always took an afternoon nap, each in a corner of the old Chippendale sofa which, with chairs that matched it, was in a sitting room next the parlor. Exactly at four o'clock Abram would take a pitcher and go to the town pump a few blocks away, pump it full three times to cool it and with the fourth pitcher full present himself at sitting room door, knock, and enter. Aunt Peggy would sit up and say "Is it four o'clock, Abram?" "Yes, Madam, the town clock jus' done struck." "Did you cool the pitcher three times, Abram?" "Yes, Madam, three times." Then each would drink a glass of water. This

daily observance of what was considered good for their health was so interesting to the two younger children, Aunt Amelie and Mother, that sometimes they would steal along the passage and peep through the key hole to see the old ladies asleep and then watch Abram execute his part in the daily function.

Great Aunt Peggy was an active, positive little woman who spoke her mind freely on any subject. She was very capable, and managed the household affairs entirely. Aunt Sydney was about seven years older. She was gentle and languid in her manner and inclined to be sentimental at times, which always aroused Aunt Peggy's ire. There



Nos. 17 and 19 (later 104 and 106) North Gay Street, built about 1800 for his daughters by William Buchanan, merchant patriot. The site is now part of Memorial Plaza. Sketch by Miss Elise Hutton from original painting on a pier table. See page 268.

was an elderly French gentleman, a bachelor, who often came to see them in the evenings. Aunt Sydney enjoyed his little attentions and compliments, and when he kissed her hand Aunt Peggy, who had been looking on with disdain, would mutter "The old fool." All the Buchanans were Presbyterians, strict and narrow in their views. Grandmother was a Roman Catholic, a religion abhorrent to the aunts. So it must have been difficult for the precise, elderly women and the much younger sister-in-law—she was thirty-six—to adjust their lives to each other, so utterly different had been their upbringing as well as religion. The three older girls went with their mother to the R. C. Cathedral in the mornings, but the aunts could not endure that the cherished family name of Sydney should be inherited by a Roman Catholic, and as if to snatch a brand from the burning, they insisted that Mother should go to the Presbyterian church on

Sunday afternoons with them. Their instructions, combined with those of the Reverend Dr. Backus, had the effect of causing her to grow up a Presbyterian. What Aunt Peggy thought of her marrying a young Episcopal clergyman is not on record.

The little girls soon became acquainted with their cousins next door, the seven children of Cousin Esther Brown, who lived with her mother, Aunt Allison. Mother's especial chum was Sydney, a girl about her own age, but she had a great affection for George William, the eldest, who became a lawyer and later a judge. He married her devoted friend, Clara Brune. The children were together continually, and the ease and relaxation of Aunt Allison's home made a welcome contrast to the rigid rule in that of the two old maid aunts. Those rules did not relax as the girls grew up and went to parties and had beaux calling on them. There were only open wood fires in the fire-places, and in cold weather, at nine o'clock exactly, Abram would enter the parlor carrying the big brass warming pan. He filled it with hot coals at the fire-place and covered the rest of the fire with the ashes for the night, then departed to warm the beds for the old ladies. The situation was mortifying, probably, to the young ladies and doubtless the beaux departed too, for the aunts said "Good night" and left the room. The girls led a happy social life. The Buchanans were prosperous and belonged to the "elite" and were related to many of them. But the social set was not too exclusive.

In 1824 Mother was eight years old, and something occurred then which made a great impression on her. In that year General La Fayette made a last visit to this country and was received with great ovations in the cities. Baltimoreans were wild with enthusiasm, and planned a great banquet for him. There was no hall in the city large enough. Uncle Buchanan had built himself a fine house with a great ball room in it which he offered for the banquet, which took place there. It is to be supposed that his sisters were present and that his nieces were in the house. At the beginning of dessert, Uncle Buchanan had Mother brought in and presented to Gen. La Fayette. He rose and made her a courtly bow, to which she responded with a curtsy. Uncle Buchanan had introduced her as his French niece, and she replied to the General in French in the short interview. To her he seemed very old, and she remembered him as a small and very wrinkled old man, and very polite. Whether the older girls were presented I have no record, Mother's own experience of the exalted occasion was so overwhelming that it confused everything else at the time. The girls learned to speak English perfectly, but

their mother always spoke French to them to keep up their knowledge of the language. Aunt Lise was complimented by a visiting French gentleman she met at a party who said she spoke with a Parisian accent.

Aunt Esther married a young lawyer when she was about twenty-three, John Carrere, son of a well-to-do Frenchman living in Baltimore. Aunt Lise was a beauty, and a great belle. Five of the young men she knew wanted to marry her. One young man she knew asked her five times, and then gave it up and became a R. C. priest because he said he could never love any one else. One of the five she loved, her cousin Smith, Uncle Buchanan's fourth son. But Grandmother interposed. Her church forbade the marriage of first cousins; also she thought every man ought to have some occupation, however well off he might be. To meet this, Smith went to Philadelphia and took a course in chemistry. When a fully qualified chemist, he came again for Aunt Lise but Grandmother still objected on religious grounds. The end was that neither of them married. Some twenty years later, Smith came again for Aunt Lise. Grandmother had been dead for some time, Aunt Esther had died leaving six children, the youngest a sickly child of two years. Aunt Lise was keeping house and being a mother to them, and thought it her duty to stay with them. So she said "No" to Smith for the last time, and they never saw each other again. Aunt Amelie married Edward Carrere, a doctor, John Carrere's brother. They had no children, and both died of tuberculosis in their thirties, within a few years of each other.

Grandmother died when Mother was about fifteen or sixteen, of no especial disease, but gradually declined, pining away until she died, as Mother in after years concluded, of nostalgia—home sickness. One can easily understand the tragedy of the changed life for her in leaving her home land and all her relations without her husband to rely on or turn to for sympathy, and come half way around the world to live with two utterly different old women, rigid, though kind hearted as they were, in an utterly different country and climate, and using a language which she spoke with effort and always with a strong accent. It took courage and unselfishness to do it, but she must have felt alien in so different surroundings, although she made friends and met some people who spoke French, Uncle Buchanan among them. She had a cousin who owned a vessel in the West India trade, and when it came in he had Grandmother supplied with the tropical fruits she was so used to. His name was Armand Chasteau,

and he settled in Baltimore. He had two daughters younger than Mother. I only knew one of them, Cousin Claire, who married a Mr. Grey of a southern county.

Mother used to speak of some of the old town customs. How the English muffin man went about in the morning calling out "Muffins, English muffins." Always on Sunday Aunt Peggy would go to the front door and buy them to be toasted for breakfast. Always, too, on Sundays during the winter there was boiled turkey for dinner, with egg sauce. Why never roasted, one never knew, perhaps only habit. The girls went to a school kept by two French ladies, the Misses Marcilly. They were very strict as to deportment and conversation, which was always in French, though there were classes in English too. The girls sat on benches and were continually admonished to sit up straight so as to keep a straight back. Mother was somewhat delicate, and having a weak spine, was allowed a chair so she could lean back. Apparently she did not go out socially as much as the older girls, but she had some devoted friends. Two of them were Episcopalians with whom she went to St. Paul's Church, and there she saw and heard the young assistant minister, Orlando Hutton, afterward met him at her friends' homes and finally married him, relinquishing the Puritan severity for a more liberal religion. She was twenty-four, and was married December 10, 1840.

Aunt Peggy had told Mother of Revolutionary days when it was considered disloyal to drink tea, and how when they longed for a cup of the beverage that cheers, shutters were closed tight, and doors locked, while the tea was drunk surreptitiously. In contrast to that, and illustrating a custom of that day, this may be mentioned. Some years later, the Aunts were entertaining at tea a visiting French gentleman who spoke English imperfectly. Unaware that the custom of putting the spoon into the cup after drinking the tea, indicated that no more was desired, he left it in the saucer and was immediately offered another cup which he was too polite to refuse, until he had consumed five cups. Then, unable to drink more, in desperation, he put the saucer with the spoon in it on top of the cup and placed the napkin on top of that, with a polite gesture of despair. The Aunts used to tell this with much amusement.

The two houses on Gay Street, which Great Grandfather Buchanan had built for his widowed daughter Mary Allison, and his two unmarried daughters, Sidney and Peggy, were separated by a small piece of ground but had no front yard. These houses are represented as having three stiff-looking trees on either side, on a pier-

table, part of a set of drawing-room furniture made for the Aunts' new house (and of which they were very proud) by a certain Robert Crawford, evidently an expert cabinet-maker. The two card tables are painted with a picture of the town-house on one, and on the other the country house in the Green Spring Valley, the chairs being decorated with small paintings of fruit, flowers, etc. This furniture shows age but is in good condition notwithstanding its one hundred and thirty-odd years.

Back of these two houses was considerable yard space where the young Browns and Buchanans played. The back-yard of the Holliday Street Theatre was directly opposite and afforded a near view of what went on there, and the children perched on their own yard fence were often interested and excited observers. Usually the comings and goings were practical and commonplace enough, but there was always the chance of something entertaining or exciting. One summer to their great joy an elephant was there for a while, probably used in some performance. But no *theatrical* performance did *they* ever see. Play-acting was *anathema* to the rigid Presbyterianism of the Aunts, as savoring too strongly of the devil and all his works.

Gradually, the childish interest in the theatre back-yard merged into adolescent pleasures. Besides parties, balls, tea-drinkings, there were excursions into the country, sometimes to Federal Hill, even to Jones Falls. A favorite walk on Sunday afternoons was to Howard Park where the Monument now stands. Other young people joined them on Gay Street, which made it seem quite a long walk. The Park was beautiful with trees, grass and flowers and afforded ample space for nature-lovers as well as for human lovers.

At Uncle Buchanan's fine house they were always affectionately welcomed, and Uncle himself, the dignified and most important figure in their life. Occasionally he would take them down to Buchanan's Wharf to see some ship come in, a thrilling sight, remembering as the elder ones did, their own voyage of half-round the World. Those ships, which held a vista of romance, and of loss as well; sunk as many of them were during the French and English wars.

THE LIFE OF RICHARD MALCOLM JOHNSTON IN MARYLAND 1867-1898

By FRANCIS TAYLOR LONG

(Continued from Vol. XXIV, page 324)

II. SOME LITERARY FRIENDSHIPS—THE LECTURE PLATFORM, 1882-1889

Life at Pen Lucy, or rather the earliest and most prosperous years of that period, was for Johnston and his family more nearly like their former life in Georgia than any other part of their residence in Maryland. One may readily see the points of resemblance. They lived in the country but were in touch with neighboring cultural environment. They were in intimate communication with the South, their former home, through the students who came from that region to the school. The stimulus for Johnston to write, or by other means to add to the family income, especially in the later years at Pen Lucy, as at Rockby, was much stronger and more urgent. The circle of his friends, which had been appreciably enlarged when, in the later Georgia period, he had moved to Athens for four years of residence at the University there, grew to be much larger and more varied when he came to Maryland. In Georgia or in Maryland—wherever he was—Johnston invariably manifested the power to evoke strong friendships.

Ample evidence exists to prove conclusively that Johnston was a friendly man and that not only during his life in Georgia but also throughout his years in Maryland he continued to add to the group of friends he had hitherto gained. When he left Georgia he lost intimate touch with many friends he had known there; yet he by no means lost touch with all of those whom he had come to love and to hold in friendly esteem in his native State. Especially remembered were the friends he had known in Sparta and in Hancock County, and throughout Middle Georgia, such as the Stephens brothers, both Linton and Alexander H. Stephens. To these also must be added, Sidney Lanier having already been mentioned, the names of Joel Chandler Harris and Frank L. Stanton, both members of the *Atlanta Constitution* staff. Johnston, since he was an intimate friend of Harris, was also well acquainted with Henry W. Grady, Capt. Evan P. Howell, founder of the *Constitution*, and other members of its staff.

This present period was one in which, having already gained for himself a wide group of friends in Baltimore, he enlarged this circle so that it included—either as friends or acquaintances—many of the most notable writers and some of the most talented and popular editors, artists, and illustrators of the day, as is evidenced by the following incomplete list: Edwin A. Abbey, Henry Mills Alden, James Lane Allen, George W. Cable, Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain), George W. Curtis, Harry Stillwell Edwards, Edward Eggleston, Eugene Field, A. B. Frost, Hamlin Garland, Richard Watson Gilder, Louise Imogene Guiney, Joel Chandler Harris, William Dean Howells, E. W. Kemble, James Russell Lowell, Edgar W. Nye (Bill Nye), Thomas Nelson Page, James Whitcomb Riley, Arthur Stedman, Edmund Clarence Stedman, Frank L. Stanton, Frank R. Stockton, Richard Henry Stoddard, John Banister Tabb, Celia Thaxter, Charles Dudley Warner, Henry W. Watterson.

Having gained entrance, with Lanier's assistance, into the pages of *Scribner's Monthly* (June, 1879) and into the good graces of its editor, Richard Watson Gilder, Johnston soon came also to contribute to *Harper's Magazine* (February, 1881) and to know its editor, Henry Mills Alden. Harper and Brothers also published the first of his three novels, *Old Mark Langston* (1883). Not long after its publication, he made what appear to have been his first readings from his own works, the selections having been taken from this novel. Before the end of the eighties, Johnston had served as one of a rather large group of literary folk who gave public readings, usually from their own works, in New York, Washington, and other cities in behalf of the American Copyright League in its efforts to make copyright effective. He also gave, between 1880 and 1890, several individual readings and lectures outside of Baltimore and at least one joint reading in Baltimore. Among the other cities included in these several efforts were Indianapolis, Nashville, and Atlanta.

Almost in the middle year of this eventful decade he had enjoyed the good fortune of a journey to Europe, recorded in *Two Gray Tourists* (1885). Earlier still, in what appears to be the most significant year of this period, 1883, he had undergone the varied experiences of losing his earliest literary friend and adviser, Alexander H. Stephens, and of mingling his grief with that of the many friends who mourned this distinguished Georgian; of attending a reunion in Macon of the members of his class (1841), the first to be graduated from Mercer University; and of being compelled to give up the Pen

Lucy School and estate after sixteen years of residence there and to move to Baltimore to a humble apartment. There, while giving himself more and more to writing and lecturing, he continued for a time, with the aid of his daughters, to conduct a smaller day school.

Of these eventful years none seems more important than the year 1883, which may be regarded as a motivating year for the entire period; for Johnston—now keenly aware that his school could not again expand, could not even remain stationary and as much a source of income as it then was but must inevitably dwindle away with each passing year—felt all the more strongly the incentive to devote himself as vigorously as possible to his literary activity. This year was for Johnston literally crowded with important events. Of these happenings none had more to do with the shaping of his future course of action than his removal from the Pen Lucy estate to Baltimore.

Leading up to and ultimately bringing about this decisive turn in affairs—this disappointing end of Johnston's endeavor through the agency of the Pen Lucy School to continue his life in Maryland as a country gentleman after the manner in which he had lived at Rockby—were several contributing factors. Of these the first was the gradual but finally complete loss of the boarding students he had been receiving from the South and likewise a similar reduction in the day-pupil patronage from Baltimore; another was the inability of Johnston so to manage his business affairs during the prosperous years in Maryland as to provide for himself during the lean years which were to follow. "My father never learned the value of a dollar," has been the repeated comment of his daughter, Miss Ruth Johnston. This is an illuminating comment, not only upon Johnston as an individual but also upon a rather numerous group of Southern gentlemen of the old school, who seemed unable to rid themselves of the business handicaps imposed upon them by the semi-feudal way of living which was prevalent in the South before the Civil War.

When the end of the happy and leisurely period of residence at Pen Lucy estate finally arrived in the autumn of 1883, Johnston and his faithful wife and the other members of the family prepared to give up the Waverly home—as years before they had given up the attractive home at Rockby in Georgia—and to make their future home, in harmony with changed conditions and the exigencies of the present occasion, in Baltimore. It was no doubt a sad leave-taking, especially for Johnston and his wife—not only in the autumn of the year but also in the autumn of their lives.

Johnston now moved his family into a building and into a period of their lives which have been described by his daughter Ruth in the following words:

When my father moved into the city of Baltimore from the Pen Lucy estate in 1883, he secured an apartment at 33 Taney Place.¹ A grocery store occupied the first floor of the building: the two upper floors were leased by our family. Each of these floors was nothing but a long room, the stairs to which led up from the outside of the building at the side, and the door at each landing opened directly into each long room. It was a very simple home situated above a grocery store. The first of these long rooms—the second floor of the building—or rather the front part of this room immediately above the grocery store, was partitioned off from the rear by means of screens and curtains and was used as a reception and living room; the rear part of it was used as a kitchen. In the front part of this room was a large iron stove used for heating. The furnishings—everything—were very simple. The upper floor, the top floor of the building, was used as bed rooms for the members of the family. In the reception-living room the school in charge of Amy and Effie was taught. Upstairs my father taught his few private pupils. It was the front portion of the first of these long rooms that became now the meeting place of the cultural élite of Baltimore—a kind of salon.

My older sister Amy, then twenty-five years old (six years older than I), bravely took upon herself the burden of helping to support the family by opening a high class school for children, which was called the Pen Lucy school. She was an unusually sweet and gentle girl and possessed good practical business sense. She was a good student, too, and taught French and German in the school. The school was well organized under her charge, but the work was heavy and wearing upon her and undoubtedly hastened her death, which occurred in March 1885. She died of tuberculosis, leaving the burden of the school to Effie, my younger sister, and to me. Together we carried on the school during the rest of the year. Using the same system which Amy had employed, we continued to conduct the work of the school, upon which the family depended in large measure for support. When Amy first opened the school (about November, 1883), my father continued to teach, upstairs, such private pupils as he could secure. With my father's many friends, and our own, it was a very abundant life, in spite of the hard work.

My father's home soon became a center for distinguished men from Baltimore and elsewhere. All classes and kinds of people came to see us, and anyone who came must be received. There was a continuous succession of callers who came at all times of the day and on all sorts of missions, some of them with letters. As I recall it, one might meet all kinds of people around the big stove in the front room. They knew it was a place where they could find good talk and ready fellowship. It was a life that was rich and full. My father's personality was greater than his writings. He was a charming, big, simple man, who had a capacity for friendship with big men.

Two other memorable events of that year, which came to pass

¹Now North Avenue, at the southeast corner of the intersection of Maryland Avenue.

even before Johnston had moved from Pen Lucy into Baltimore, were the death of Alexander H. Stephens, at the time newly elected governor of Georgia, March 4, 1883, and the reunion of Johnston's graduation class in Macon at the annual commencement exercises during the semi-centennial celebration of the founding of Mercer University in 1833. Both of these events affected Johnston profoundly, for each focused his mind vividly upon his earlier life in Georgia. Each also brought him back to his native State, and that always stirred him deeply.

It would hardly be accurate to say that news of the illness of Stephens early in March—soon after his inauguration as governor—came as a surprise to Johnston, who was very familiar with the uncertain health of one of his earliest and most cherished friends. In fact, it had long been more or less a mystery to Johnston as to how that frail but dynamic bit of humanity kept himself alive at all. As soon as the news of the death of his friend reached Johnston, he prepared to return to his native State to act as an honorary pall-bearer—one of thirty-seven—and to tender in person a last tribute of respect and affection to one whom he had loved devotedly. As the funeral exercises, an elaborate state affair, did not take place until four days later, March 8, he had ample time in which to arrive in Atlanta.

Johnston had already paid a written tribute of respect to this Southern leader in his *Life of Alexander H. Stephens* (1878). He paid still another tribute to him in his own *Autobiography* (1900). Writing in the late evening of his life, after having called to mind his long friendship with Stephens and the numerous statements he had previously made in his Stephens biography, he doubtless expressed here his frankest, most honest opinion:

Regarding it from every point of view, the being of Alexander Stephens seemed to me the most unique of all with which I have been acquainted. Extremes were more distant from each other, with many various means between. The wise man that he became kept within him very much of the little child. His native irascibility showed itself in middle age and old, as in childhood and youth. An offense, or what he took to be such, roused instant resentment with desire to fight. He challenged to the duel consecutively Herschel (afterwards Governor) Johnston and Benjamin (afterwards United States Senator) Hill. His pride, perhaps rather I should say his vanity, was as exquisitely sensitive to slight, real or apparent, as his own suffering body was to a new, sudden pain. Yet of all men he was the most ready to forgive an enemy.

In the death of Stephens, Johnston lost a sane and wise counselor. If for nothing else, the year would have been memorable for this;

but other notable events were likewise in the matrix of time, one of which was the journey Johnston made about three months later back to Georgia to attend the reunion of his class, the first graduated from that institution when it was at Penfield. Johnston, it was true, was no longer a Baptist, for since 1875 he had been a communicant of the Roman Catholic Church; but when he was a Baptist he had been a Georgian, and he was at heart still a Georgian. The invitation, therefore, must have pleased him, and he accepted it.

Back in his native George—at Sparta, Athens, Augusta, Atlanta, Macon, in almost any part of the State—Johnston would be sure to meet friends, for he had friends not only in Georgia but also in practically every Southern state. Many distinguished Georgians and Southerners, alumni or friends of Mercer, were in attendance upon these exercises, which marked the semi-centennial year of the founding of that institution. He was received into the home of Harry Stillwell Edwards, just across Tattnall Square from the Mercer campus, where both his host and hostess were already known to him.

Not only the meeting and the conversation with so many of these friends of his earlier years but also the class reunion exercises must have stirred deeply the memories within Johnston's mind. Indeed the reunion of the members of the first class graduated from the institution was the climactic point of the celebration and must have produced a profound impression upon everyone who witnessed it. The supreme dramatic moment came when all the members of the class of 1841—only three of them but all still living and in good health at that time—were summoned, after the orchestra had launched into the strains of "Auld Lang Syne," to the platform to greet the large assembly. Harry Stillwell Edwards, Johnston's host, writing many years afterwards in reminiscent vein in the *Atlanta Journal*, observed:

Fifty years had passed, yet there they stood, happy and in health. Johnston was on the left, now erect and apparently seven feet tall. . . . The audience stood up and cheered.

When he had returned to Baltimore, Johnston was again face to face with the impending crisis in his own personal affairs. The struggle with adverse economic and educational conditions to retain possession of the Pen Lucy estate had gone against him. Since the school had failed, the estate itself, heavily burdened by incumbrances, was untenable. He had already realized that; he was merely holding on during the summer at Waverly, where pupils were no longer available, so that he and his family might move into Baltimore in

the autumn when the new term was beginning and would make possible some new income from that source for their support.

Johnston, however, now that whatever income might be secured from his own few private pupils and from the school to be conducted by his two daughters was sure to be slight and insufficient except for the bare support of the family, had decided, as did many other writers of that day, to make his own writings do double duty. They were to serve not only to bring in all possible returns from the publishers but also as material for readings which he would give wherever and whenever possible.

Yet with all of his efforts to aid his three daughters, who had practically been supporting the family ever since the beginning of their residence in Baltimore, the results were evidently sorely disappointing. In spite of the publication of *Dukesborough Tales* (the enlarged and most complete Franklin Square edition) in January, 1883, with the largest immediate circulation of any of his works, and the publication of *Old Mark Langston* in the following winter, it appears that the royalties were insufficient to aid much in the support of his family, even in their modest lodgings. Pathetic but illuminating proof of this and of the similar general condition of the other members of the family is disclosed in a letter written somewhat later by the mother to her eldest son, Malcolm, at the time meeting with the disappointments of a young lawyer in Milledgeville, Georgia:

We are unhappy now about Amy's health, which is certainly precarious. Effie and Ruth will have to teach under Amy's direction. Patrons will gradually find that out, and it may injure the school very much.

The rent of Pen Lucy is doubtful, and if it is collected it will have to go for repairs, interest, mortgage, taxes,—so that no support for us to come from that source. Your Father has no money and has secured no scholars. I sent you the last money, 10.00, which came out of the \$30.00 which I received from the sale of the carriage. Dick is in Baltimore looking for something to do. Albon takes care of himself. So you see the outlook for us. I tell you these things to urge you to do something outside your law for a support, teach some private pupils, get a music scholar or something else. Your Father looks despondent, wearied and troubled, and it is all on account of money.

I work hard, and so do the girls: we try to be cheerful, because it is right, but it is a struggle.

As the years passed and the decade neared its end, even though the school conducted by the girls had fortunately continued after the death of Amy in 1885, the economic condition of the family grew steadily worse and worse. Johnston, in his efforts to better conditions, determined to emulate some of the most popular writers

of the day and to join with some congenial one or more of them in a reading tour.

Early in the spring of 1888, at a time when it appeared to be the major ambition of every writer who had not already gained that pinnacle and regarded himself as capable of doing so to appear on the public platform in either a lecture or a reading, Johnston and Thomas Nelson Page began a correspondence,² the purpose of which was to arrange for themselves a joint reading, or series of readings, under the supervision of J. B. Pond, then at the head of the most successful and best advertised bureau of its kind in the country. Page wrote briefly to Johnston, March 2, 1888, seemingly indicating that the negotiations with Pond were nearing a successful conclusion:

Richmond, Virginia,
March 2nd, 1888.

My dear Colonel:

All right, you can arrange with Pond for us on the basis proposed. If he will not undertake it perhaps it would be best not to attempt anything of the kind this spring. I feel satisfied however that if he would we should make something like \$2000 apiece. Lent is a very good time for Readings.

Yours truly
Thos N. Page

This proposed contract of the two with Pond, however, was never consummated. It appears that for some reason not mentioned Pond, who had in the beginning been in correspondence with Johnston relative to the matter, later resumed the correspondence, not with Johnston but with Page. Pond's aim in doing this appears to have been to arrange a reading for Page alone. In the meantime Johnston seems to have conceived the idea of securing Pond to arrange a similar tour in the South, which would include not only Page and himself but also Harry Stillwell Edwards, a plan which likewise failed to mature.

During that summer the letters between Johnston and Page appear to have been discontinued, but they were resumed in the autumn:

Richmond, Va.
Octo. 25, 1888

My dear Old Colonel:

The adjective is not employed with reference to age—but because all my dear Colonels are "Old Colonels." My professional work has been haling

² Unfortunately not a single one of Johnston's letters relating to anyone of the letters in the remaining portion of this instalment has been discovered. Unless otherwise indicated, each of the following letters is from the Enoch Pratt Free Library's recently acquired collection.

me around of late to Charlottesville, Albemarle, West Va & other places, hence my silence until now respecting the subject of your letter.

Pond wrote or rather wired me some time since to know if I would read one night at Washington, Pa. with you for \$100. I replied to him that I could not go to Pa. for less than \$100 & expenses, and would not for one night, but as to reading with you that was just what I should enjoy. Reading over his letter again I construed it as meaning \$100 to each of us. Then I received a letter from Mr. Somebody, head of an exchange there asking my terms. I referred to Pond & stated \$100 & expenses. Pond then wrote offering that & so did they but changed the day to the 21st Nov, and I accepted as I had to go to New York then. I heard no more about it till your letter came. I should dearly love to have you there at the same time.

As to the tour in the South with Edwards and yourself, nothing would suit me better, if I were not afraid such a tour would injure my profession. "The law (you remember) is a jealous mistress." I think perhaps there would be rather too many for the pecuniary division, though it would be delightful to take a whirl around the compass with such company. Edwards is a nice fellow, and the author of *The Runaways* has genius. I won't say anything about the man [Johnston] who "never can be rough to his women" even in his stories. I should like to take a tour sometime with you. I think as I wrote you before it would all depend on the "management." I would be willing to take the risk of a cruise of a couple of months for a reasonable show to make \$5000 or so. Cable and Twain made a half dozen times this between them. Some time if you say so I will come to Balto. & give a reading with you, on condition that you come here and give another. One prime consideration in this is the chance of getting you in my house.

I know you had a good time in Nashville [Johnston had given a reading in Nashville earlier in the current month] and that they had a good time too. I never enjoyed a visit more. I took my wife down there and we had a lark. I am going to Atlanta to read two or three nights in November or December. Write Pond and get his views as to a run of a month or so for you and myself unless you have made an arrangement with Edwards. If we could make \$1200 a week it might tempt me.

Your truly,
Thos. N. Page

At this point in their endeavors to arrange a lecture tour, Johnston invited Page to come to Baltimore and meet his friends in the University Club and very likely also to discuss the lecture tour. Page's letter, regretfully declining this invitation, indicates that he was soon, as he had already mentioned, to give a reading in Washington, Pa.:

Richmond, Virginia
Nov. 2nd 1888

My dear Colonel Johnston:

I most sincerely wish I could accept your invitation and Maj. Venable's to come to that Club meeting. But it is at this time simply impossible. I am chocked up with law business right now in the very heart of our autumn—our most important term, and I have made that engagement in Washington,

Penn., which I would gladly get out of if I could. It is not the honorarium which has kept me worried at having to decline the invitation; but the honor, and the pleasure I should find in meeting you and your "pals" of the University Club. This has made it a matter of deep regret that I cannot accept the honor.

I expect to see Pond in N. Y. where I have to be shortly; but I will write him and let you hear the result.

Yours cordially,
Thos N. Page

Both of the writers are shown in Page's next letter as still negotiating with Pond relative to a lecture tour, but the exact nature of the tour and of Pond's attitude toward it appear as vague as ever. One indication is that it is to begin in Boston:

Washington, D. C.,
Nov. 22, 1888

My dear Colonel:

I came direct to Washington instead of stopping over in Balto this afternoon as I wanted to do. After telegraphing you I remembered that you had written me if I am not mistaken that you were not in your own house now but out of town, so having taken a peep around the depot I got back on the train and came on. I wanted to see you both to *see you* and to talk over that Boston business. If Pond would take hold of the thing energetically and not crowd too many in to make long division he could make it pay handsomely. I wrote him that I would go if there was money in it. I cannot go otherwise. I believe a tour of a month would pay you and me about \$2000 apiece, if not more, with a good management.

Yours very truly
Thos N. Page

Seemingly the patience of these two Southerners relative to their efforts to secure the coöperation of Pond had now become worn threadbare. Page expresses in his next letter sufficient disgust with Pond for one to infer that his feelings were even stronger than the expression given to them in words. He now favors action—immediate action—independent of Pond, whose cordiality he seems to doubt. In fact, he had already mentally worked out most of the major details for a plan of action:

Richmond, Va.,
Dec. 13th, 1888

My dear Colonel:

As the autumn term draws to a close, I begin to find time to think of the Readings in which I believe there is much money instanter and some by reason of future writing of books. Whether Pond will bother himself to look out for us Southrons I know not. That he will not unless we stand up for ourselves I am sure. So I say let us stand up. Now how about a read-

ing or *two* Readings in Baltimore and Washington on our own hook—with Pond at the D———I—for a short time only of course? As for Richmond, it must be counted out. Richmond will positively not go to a Reading on any terms except absolute gratuity. This I have sadly proved. Professor Schele de Vere lectured here the other evening to sixty souls. I will not read before them any more and if you are wise you will not either. With Balto it is different and I think with Washington. I have engaged to appear before the University Club of Balto at this January meeting on condition that I shall not be expected to receive anything over my actual expenses, beyond a welcome. I wrote at the same time that I contemplated giving a Reading there sometime for which a charge should be made. What do you think of the evening before or the evening after this University meeting? The latter will be Saturday and I thought might suit you. If it does, suppose you secure a hall at our joint expense, and engage some active show man to run the business part, and advise me so that I can send the necessary data for an active advertisement. I am told by partial friends that they will guarantee me 1000 persons. Well, I don't believe that you know but still I think we could raise a tolerably good crowd if we hit a night not taken up by a more popular entertainment, had a good and convenient hall, and were under the management of an active advertiser. Do you know such a man? Do you know D. Buchanan Merryman? He is a most active energetic fellow—an old college mate of mine—and I believe would regard booming me for such a thing as a lark.

My brother-in-law. Wm Cabell Bruce, [Page's first wife was Anne Seddon Bruce, of Charlotte County, Virginia] has offered to attend to the business for me but I know he as a lawyer has not the time, though he would render valuable aid.

Suppose you start the thing at once if you know such a man and see your way to go into it.

I was exceedingly sorry not to see you when I passed through Balto. I am glad you had so pleasant a time up North.

With cordial regards, I am

Yours truly,

Thos. N. Page

We ought to charge \$1 if we go into the thing.

Arrangements for the Baltimore reading, an appearance which had been eagerly anticipated by both Johnston and Page, were at this point rudely interrupted by the sudden death of Mrs. Page in Richmond, just before Christmas and after an illness of only three days. Johnston at once wrote Page a long and tenderly consoling letter—one of numerous similar letters written by him to intimate friends on such occasions—to which Page replied in an equally long letter, assuring Johnston that, of all the many letters of condolence he had received, "None . . . has sunk deeper into my heart than yours."

Since, however, arrangements for the reading had been all but

completed and the date for which it had been planned, January 17, was not far distant, Johnston found it necessary, in order not to lose the advantage he had gained, to secure someone to replace Page and then to go ahead with the reading at the scheduled time. In his dilemma, after much consideration, he finally hit upon the idea of asking another friend, Charles Dudley Warner, to take Page's place.

Warner, who happened at the time to be so engaged that he could not respond to the request made by Johnston, of whom he was very fond, happily thought of enlisting the aid of Mark Twain. Since their residences in Hartford were upon adjoining lots, it was a matter of only a few steps from Warner's residence to the Clemens home. When Warner had explained to Twain the predicament in which Johnston and Page found themselves, Twain, with characteristically impulsive generosity, consented to take Page's part in the reading. With this happy solution of the difficulty agreed upon, Johnston and Twain began at once to make arrangements for their appearance in Baltimore.

In this connection it may be explained that Johnston had met Twain at least about a year earlier, for both had taken part in the readings given under the auspices of the American Copyright League in Washington, March 19, 1888. The earliest letter from Twain to Johnston is dated April 5, 1887, and a statement in it indicates that Twain was already familiar with Johnston's handwriting even though he may not have met him personally at that time. Twain was then busy with his publishing venture in connection with the firm of Charles L. Webster and Company, and Johnston had evidently inquired to learn if the firm was in the market for such a manuscript as he could supply:

Hartford, Apl, 5/87

My dear Sir:

It would not be worth while, for a few years yet, for us to consider new books, for the reason that our wheels are clogged with existing contracts which it must take us a long time to fill. In the subscription trade we publish only two books a year—cannot do justice to more.

I thank you for your note. It is pleasant to my eyes to see your handwriting.

Truly yours

S. L. Clemens

Some insight into the friendship between Johnston and Twain and that between Johnston and Warner, and the fact that at least upon one occasion Johnston had been invited to the Clemens home—and had accepted—is contained in the next letter:

Farmington Avenue
Hartford, Conn.
Nov. 9/88

Dear Mr. Johnston:

We hear that you are coming to the Warners next Thursday, & Mrs. Clemens & I beg that you will cross the lot to our house on Saturday & stay over Sunday. We promise to do our level best to make you comfortable.

Sincerely yours
S. L. Clemens

In the first of the three letters dealing with the Baltimore readings, Twain outlines fully his plans for going down to Baltimore and every important detail concerning the carrying out of the program:

Dear Colonel:

Hartford, Jan. 4/89

Thank you ever so much for your good letter. Mrs. Clemens & I are unspeakably sorry for poor Page; and it goes without saying, that in an emergency like this I am cheerfully ready to break all the promises I have made that I would infest the public platform no more. I would break these promises for either of you, any time, to help you out of a difficulty.

I expect to leave New York for Baltimore about 10 a. m., the 17th, (will telegraph you that morning or the day before), & I must return to New York the next morning. I am thankful to you & to the Club for your offers of dissipation, & I am a willing subject if you, personally, will see to it that I am in bed by 12 that night; otherwise I must not venture, for my business in New York the next day will require a clear head & an unwearied body. I used to be young, but I ain't any mo'—I'm old. If it were left to me, I should carouse at the club too long; but with *you* responsible for a cessation at 12, I shouldn't be afraid.

Our performance should be 110 minutes long. Begin ostensibly at 8 (most likely at 8:10) & end at 10 p. m. Now then, get you to your private den, & read & time your own part of the program with a trustworthy watch, & report to me the exact number of minutes it is going to occupy. Then I will take the rest of the 110 minutes, & select my stuff to meet the requirements. Suppose you allow yourself 60 minutes, & let me have the fifty; or you can take more if you want to—only make sure that you be as exact as you can, so that I may run no danger of making my program too long. If you wish to introduce explanatory talk from time to time, don't leave these remarks to chance, but plan them beforehand, so that they won't *overrun*—& be sure & subtract them from your reading-time. I will do the same. With all the safe-guards we can invent, a first-night's reading is likely to overrun—& that is bad politics.

Let us alternate the readings thus:

1. Johnston,
2. Clemens,
3. Johnston,
4. Clemens—& so on.

We all send you our hearty love.

Yrs ever
S. L. Clemens

From the foregoing letter one may gain an idea of the esteem in which Mark Twain held both of these Southern writers: it was sufficiently strong to cause him to break the pledge he had made on more than one occasion before this, that he had quit the platform and would never return to it. That pledge was, however, probably never intended to apply to such a dilemma as that which confronted Johnston and Page after the death of Mrs. Page.

A letter dated less than a week later and related, of course, to the all-absorbing matter of the forthcoming Baltimore engagement, is of a kind that Twain evidently very much enjoyed writing; for it contains one or two of his cleverest humorous touches:

Hartford, Jan. 9/89

Dear Col:

Private. I shall sneak down to Baltimore on Wednesday, 16th, (by the best train from New York that morning), & go into hiding from all save you. The trip will tire me most to death, & I must have a whole day's rest. Don't let anybody know I am to be there before *Thursday* afternoon. I mustn't put my name on the hotel register until Thursday.

Let Capt. H. P. Goddard tell you what he wrote to me & what I have answered.

Yrs

Mark.

Twain had hardly more than written the preceding letter, however, before he sent another, his final message to Johnston before they met in Baltimore. Though it is brief, it contains a gem or two of advice relative to the matter of successful platform-technique:

Hartford, Jan. 11/89

Dear Colonel:

Thanks, a thousand times for yours of the 9th. I am ashamed to take all the time you are giving me; still, it's an immense convenience to me. Yesterday I found myself making little pencil marks in the margin here & there, to indicate "Here, read very fast, to gain time"—whereas a body ought to read *right*, & never mind about economizing time.

Yrs sincerely

Mark

At last, after the several obstacles that presented themselves had been surmounted by Johnston and his friends, the long-awaited day arrived. Twain, as he had planned, came down to Baltimore on Wednesday, January 16, and spent that evening with Johnston and his family. Miss Ruth Johnston has vivid recollections of Twain as he stood by the mantel in the Johnston home, smoking his pipe

and delivering inimitable discourse to the family group. As he had requested, it was not until the next night and after the joint readings that he was entertained by Johnston and other friends at the University Club. As had been expected, the attendance was large even at the admittance price of one dollar per person in harmony with the original suggestion made by Page.

In the account of the readings next day, January 18, in the *Baltimore Sun*, the reporter added a humorous touch in order better to indicate the surprise and flavor of the excerpts read by Twain from his forthcoming volume, *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, including also a graceful tribute to the merits of each reader:

Mr. Samuel L. Clemens and Col. Richard Malcolm Johnston gave an evening's reading to a very large audience in the Concert Hall of the Academy of Music last night. Mr. Clemens, or Mark Twain, as he is wider known, read an unpublished work about a man who was knocked with a crowbar from the nineteenth century backward into the sixth century. Mr. Twain said: "I've read in Baltimore at different times about all I've ever published, so I'll try a chapter of my new work and see how it takes. There are thirty-five chapters of it. If you like it I'll stop at the end of one chapter. If you don't treat me right I'll read you the whole 35. You hear of King Arthur's Knights of the Round Table and the magic of those days. Take a live Connecticut Yankee, like Peters of my story, a mechanic and foreman of fire-arm works, and shovel him back into King Arthur's time and Magic won't have a show. I'll let Peters tell his own tale after the crowbar incident: "I found myself sitting on the ground with a landscape before me and a man riding down upon me with a helmet like a cheese-box with slits in it upon his head. . . . Well, I wanted time to consider while the eclipse grew darker. I said, 'I will let the darkness proceed for a lesson. You shall make me perpetual prime minister and give me one per cent of the increase of the revenue.'" "Well," continued Mr. Twain, "the other thirty-five chapters run on like this."

Mr. Clemens upon a recall narrated his dueling experience when he was a reporter on the Virginia City Enterprise. His delightful drawl, persuasive comedy powers and purposely committed speech impediments made the readings a great go. He was dined by a number of friends last night, and stated that he intended to leave for home on the 9:40 train this morning. He has not formed a combination to give a series of readings with Col. Johnston, as erroneously stated by the New York papers. Mr. Clemens simply consented to read last night in place of Thos. Nelson Page, who from unavoidable causes, was absent.

Col. Johnston read his story of "The Early Majority of Mr. Thomas Watts," detailing the love affairs of Mr. Watts, his infatuation for his teacher, and the wonderful love letter that has delighted thousands of readers. The inimitable reproduction of dialect by Col. Johnston and his intellectual veiling of the funny in commonplace events was a rare treat to the audience.

Needless to add that Mark Twain's visit to the Johnston home and his substituting for Page on this program was a red-letter event in the Johnston family and is vividly recalled by the surviving members of the family. It gave much aid and cheer—both spiritual and financial—to the struggling family, and added another to the long list of similar gracious benefactions made by Twain. Relative to the manner in which Twain and Johnston shared in the receipts for the evening's performance, one may quote a popular version of it as embodied in a brief literary note in the Columbus, Ohio, *Evening Dispatch*, October 8, 1898, not long after Johnston's death:

Frank L. Stanton, apropos of the death of Richard Malcolm Johnston, tells a story characteristic of Mark Twain. Mr. Johnston and Thomas Nelson Page had arranged together to give a reading in Baltimore, but at the last moment Mr. Page was unable, owing to a death in his family, to attend. Mark Twain, who was then in New York, consented to take his place on the program, desiring thus to express his appreciation of the genius of Mr. Johnston. The theater was filled and the proceeds were large. At the conclusion of the entertainment, Colonel Johnston, with his customary fairness and courtesy, tendered the bulk of the receipts to the humorist. "No," said Mark, "not one cent. It is such a great honor to know you that I am the one who owes you a debt of gratitude." "Well," said the colonel, "at least let me defray your expenses." "I have a through ticket," said Twain. "Goodby, and may God bless you!"

Reports of such a benefaction as this by Mark Twain tend easily and rapidly to become legendary and, therefore, subject to the exaggerations too often associated with legends; but, disregarding an apparent inaccuracy or two, the essence of the anecdote seems very true indeed. One who is familiar with not only this but also with other of the numerous similar benefactions by Twain from time to time during his life knows intuitively that when he consented to go to Baltimore he had no other motive than that of aid to Johnston and Page. It is even very likely, as the Stanton anecdote suggests, that he paid his own expenses; for he knew in what sore need the Johnston family was at that time.

Through this and other incidents presented here one becomes convinced that Johnston was indeed a friendly man and that he won the esteem of a wide circle of friends not only in the South but also throughout the country. While his daughters were struggling to support the family as the pinch of poverty was being felt more and more keenly, it is gratifying to record that Johnston's friends remembered him and aided him, just as he himself when he was able had generously assisted Sidney Lanier and others. Though he now had

little remaining in the way of earthly possessions, his treasury of friends was rich and bountiful.

In the preceding pages some indication has been given of these friends and of their range and number. A complete list of them, if it could now be compiled, would in itself prove a notable tribute to Johnston as a man and as a friend. They ranged from Alexander H. Stephens to Mark Twain, with many varying temperaments between. Surely it is no slight personality which could attract and hold the esteem of such divergent characters as these.

(To be continued)

THE LOG OF THE ROSSIE

A FOOTNOTE TO *Men of Marque*

By JOHN PHILIPS CRANWELL and WILLIAM BOWERS CRANE

A little less than a year ago and at the end of nearly four years' work we put into place a final period, tied up a bulky manuscript, and sent it off to the publishing house of W. W. Norton Company in New York. We had completed, to the best of our ability, a study¹ of Baltimore privateers during the War of 1812. We had dug through many dusty papers and documents in this country and England, and had, we hoped, succeeded in locating most of the important contemporary records which dealt with the subject.

But one of the most dangerous beliefs that can come to an historian is that he has said the last word on any subject or has unearthed all of the material which bears on his field, however limited that field may be. The mere hint that "this is the last word" acts as a challenge to readers to go forth and find something later. We did not believe that we had seen everything ever recorded about the activities of Baltimore privateers and their commanders; but we hoped we had pierced the veil of the past with reasonable thoroughness. Nevertheless, in the back of our minds was the old saying that "into each life a little rain must fall" and we were, therefore, not surprised although a little disappointed when we were caught out in a shower, although it was but a small one.

Shortly after the manuscript had gone to press, Mr. Hulbert Footner, author of many works and whose *Charles' Gift* was one of the literary events of 1939, acted the part of rainmaker. At that time Mr. Footner was engaged in writing the life of Joshua Barney² and during his research had found a part of the log kept by Barney when that stormy petrel of early American sea history commanded the Baltimore privateer schooner, *Rossie*. Mr. Footner had caught the authors of "*Men of Marque*"—in which is included an account of the *Rossie's* cruise—out without their rubbers. The log extract has been preserved in the files of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia and was available to anyone who asked for it. We ordered copies made, and awaited their arrival with considerable trepidation, for although we had read several books and gone through many old documents in compiling our account of the *Rossie's*

¹ It was published last March under the title of *Men of Marque*.

² To be published this fall by Harper's.

cruise, which ran from July 14 to October 22, 1812, and believed that we had covered this episode accurately and comprehensively, there was always the chance that we had omitted something vital which would be revealed by a study of the vessel's log. It was, therefore, with relief that we read the log extract and discovered that its contents would not have materially altered the chapter about Commodore Barney.

Direct accounts of the principals in any such activity as privateering are always apt to be more interesting and are usually more accurate than contemporary reports of other people; and even though we have already used most of the information contained in the log extract, a brief account of its contents may be of interest. The extract covers the period from September 16, 1812, to the end of the *Rossie's* cruise and opens with the action between the Post Office Packet, *Princess Amelia*, and Barney's vessel, a battle which the *Rossie* won after a bloody engagement of about an hour. Post Office Packets were formidable opponents, as many privateersmen found out to their sorrow. They were well armed and manned by competent crews who defended themselves with skill and bravery. The *Princess Amelia* was no exception and the fight with the *Rossie* had been fierce, as privateer battles went, and resulted in considerable damage to both vessels. Barney wrote:

. . . the ship and her boats were cut to pieces all her rigging gone and sails torn from the yards, the fore yard cut in two we sent a number of our officers and men to refit it and sent the prisoners on bd. having obtained information that they had left that morning a sloop of war brig³ & a 16 gun schooner, with 3 armed ships & an armed brig which were then astern standing the same course she came I ordered my officer on bd. the Ship to get the prize before the wind & to steer N. W. so as to be out of sight of the above named squadron before daylight.

The American commander decided to send the prize in and

put Mr. Jenkins and 6 men on bd. leaving her Doctor and wounded under his charge with a Gentleman and his Lady & serv't who were passengers—we were all morning fitting and repairing our own damage, fine weather, the prize left us to the westwd. at 10 A. M.

The list of injured includes "J. Daugherty blown up by Powder." Barney held after the convoy although his information was that one merchant ship carried twenty-two guns, another eighteen, the third ship sixteen and the brig twelve, a formidable battery even though the vessels carried crews too small to work their armament efficiently.

³ At that time the term "sloop" was used in naval circles to denote a class of war vessel, without reference to her rig. In this connection it is interesting to note that the British still hold on to the usage, even in these days of power-driven craft.

Also, the men-of-war were presumably heavily armed and properly manned for fighting.

At three o'clock on the afternoon of September eighteenth, the *Rossie's* lookout spotted four sail and the next morning, still in pursuit, Barney made out three ships and a brig. He surmised that these were the merchantmen mentioned by his prisoners and that the ships-of-war and the trading schooner had become separated.

The privateer closed to within ten miles during the day but could get no closer before dark. At five the next morning the four vessels were on the starboard beam of the *Rossie* and two and one-half hours later the American was within gunshot of the chase. These were drawn up in line with the English ensign and signal flags flying. A keen-sighted gunner on the leading and largest ship let fly with an eighteen-pound shot. It crashed into the *Rossie's* starboard quarter, wrecked the pump on that side and wounded a seaman.

Barney replied with several four-pound shot and hoisted his colors. The *Rossie*, long, low and swifter than the heavier British craft, swept past the convoy, drawing the fire of two other ships, the shot all missing. Then Barney, apparently deciding that discretion was the better part of valor at the moment, concluded that he might as well make an effort to rid himself of the prisoners taken from the *Princess Amelia*. He hove the privateer to, hoisted a white flag and sent his boat to the leading enemy ship with a note addressed to the "Commodore of the British Ships Now In Sight." This read:

Sir,

I have the mate & 20 men of the *Princess Amelia* Packet prisoners, which I am willing to put on board your Ship. I have sent the mate and 2 men with my boat & wish you to send 2 Boats with 2 Men in each to receive the Prisoners & also to return my boat during this Negotiation you will please to lay too as I shall & to keep a white flag flying—no act of hostility will be attempted this day (in order to give time for the exchange) & which I expect will be complied with on your part. Directed to the Comr of the British Ships now in Sight.

The British complied. They sent a boat and a tender in charge of the mate of the *Princess Amelia*, and a reply to Barney's letter. It said:

Sir,

Agreeable to your request I have sent the boats for the prisoners. I shall lay to for their return. No act of hostility will be attempted on my part during the negotiation or as long as the white flag is kept flying.

yr. ob. servt

John Lannon

Ship Hibernia

Barney sent his prisoners over after making them promise not to serve against the United States until regularly exchanged. He kept his white flag flying until the transfer was completed and again began dogging the squadron with hostile intent, apparently hoping that one of the vessels might become separated and give him a chance to capture it. During the next few days the *Rossie* was joined by the privateer *Globe*, out of Baltimore, under the command of John Murphy. Barney and Murphy joined forces but were not successful in the pursuit.

This incident of the *Hibernia* and the mid-ocean exchange of letters and transfer of prisoners is the only important bit of information in the log which we did not discover in our research. We found the reference to the pursuit of the four vessels and the shot that disabled that important part of the *Rossie's* equipment, the starboard pump; we came across the next incident mentioned in the log—the imprisonment of John Marr, the gunner who, according to the log—

was acting the part of a Traitor having contrary to orders, put only one half the quantity of Powder in my guns, during the two engagements we had by which means we had done very little damage ordered him to Irons to be tried in the U. S.

This we used, along with the fact not noted in the log, that Marr was acquitted, a bit of information which we found in the court martial records of the United States Navy Department in Washington.

The bit about the *Hibernia*, shows one aspect of the methods of privateering warfare. One can commend Barney's judgment. It was Captain Lannon who, in the same ship, fought Thomas Boyle and his privateer *Comet* (one of the two finest privateering combinations out of Baltimore; Boyle with the *Chasseur* was the other) to a standstill on the night of January 11, 1813. The *Hibernia* had the *Comet* and her highly disciplined crew in difficulties more than once on that occasion, when Boyle fought one of his few losing battles, being forced to withdraw to refit. With three other ships joining in, it is quite likely that, had Barney forced the fight with the *Hibernia*, the cruise of the *Rossie* would have been concluded bloodily and abruptly.

The *Rossie* and the *Globe* continued to cruise in company and on September 27 they ran into a series of heavy gales which severely damaged the former. So badly was she knocked about that upon her return to port she was found to be unfit for further privateering. The schooner was, in point of fact, the oldest of her type to enter

that venturesome and wearing trade, having been built in Baltimore in 1807 and, although all seagoing craft of that day carried a few guns for defense, it is unlikely that her builders planned her for privateering or made allowances for the heavier armament needed in that business. When, on September 28 a sea came aboard the *Rossie* and

stove in our larboard waists from the fore to the main chains, broke off the stanchions of three ports and split up the sheer plank, stove in a part of the quick work and opened the upper works

Barney was forced to heave overboard six of his guns, three from each side. It marked the beginning of the end for the *Rossie* as a privateer.

Barney, however, continued his cruise in what he terms "most astonishing weather." For a solid week the *Rossie* and the *Globe*, which managed to stay in company, were buffeted and hammered by gale after gale. Unable to maneuver the ship properly because of the damage to the port side (and unable to repair that because of the weather) Barney and his men were in intense physical discomfort and real danger. They finally managed to make temporary repairs and, when the storms finally blew themselves out the crew was employed "drying sails, cleaning arms and fitting wooden guns (bad substitute)." Barney intended to exchange them for real ones so soon as he should fall in with an Englishman but he never did. The *Globe* finally took a small schooner, the *Jubilee*. Barney relieved Murphy of the prisoners and headed for home. The *Rossie* was subsequently captured while employed as a cargo carrier under another captain.

In closing, some mention might be made of the general make-up of the logs of the day. Those kept by privateersmen are (and here the writers again venture out without rubbers or raincoats) few and far between. Some were obviously kept by the captains themselves, others as obviously written by the ship's scribe. All were short on punctuation and long on capital letters. Some log-keepers went in for long, explicit accounts of their cruises, with comments on everything from the state of the weather to the Kingdom of Heaven; others were as chary of words as Old Nick is reputed to be of holy water. And anyone who has one or who knows where one is, and wishes to confound the writers of this article, may send it along. We would like to see it.

EGERTON FAMILY

By FRANCIS B. CULVER

1. CHARLES¹ EGERTON, whose will was dated 27 Jan. 1669 and proved 15 June 1669 in Lower Norfolk County (now recorded at Portsmouth), Virginia, was, according to tradition, the father of Charles Egerton, founder of the Egerton family of Maryland (*Virginia Magazine*, XXXI, 348). The senior Egerton is mentioned in the Virginia records as follows:

1662 June 14—Inventory of the estate of Captain Francis Emperor, taken this date, lists among certain "bills" the name of "Charles Egerton, 340 pounds of tobacco" (*Lower Norfolk Antiquary*, IV, 84).

1664 June 14—"Charles Egerton, 200 acres in Lynnhaven Parish in the Lower County of New Norfolk: 150 acres at a small creek on the west side of John Holmes' house, running up the creek south-southwest, etc.; 50 acres being three small hummocks joined together by small ostums [?] upon Hog Island in little creek in Lynnhaven. Granted to Samuel Mayson 18th Feb. 1653, by him sold to Thomas Bridge who sold to Egerton. (*Cavaliers and Pioneers*, by Nell Marian Nugent, I, 518).

1667 Nov. 20—"Charles Egerton in the County of Lower Norfolk in Virginia . . . give . . . unto Anne Bennett's two sons, George and Edward, my plantation which I live upon . . . cows between the boys and their sister Elizabeth . . . so that their mother, when she cometh into the County again, may . . . have a living out of the land and stock . . . if Thomas Bennett will come out of the Bay and live with them, he may. I will not hinder nor molest him." (Norfolk County Clerk's Office, Book E, 32; *Virginia Magazine*, XXXI, 347.)

NOTE: Mrs. Ann Bennett was a daughter of Henry Snaile. She married Thomas Bennett of Lower Norfolk County, Va., and St. Mary's County, Md. Her daughter Mary Bennett married (1) Thomas Ewell, (2) Maximilian Boush, (3) Rev. Jonathan Saunders (died *ante* 1700), rector of Lynn Haven Parish in 1695, whose daughter Mary Saunders (died 1762) married in 1719 Cornelius Calvert.

1669 April 27—The will of Charles Egerton, proved 15 June 1669, mentions Anne Snayle "which now goeth by the name Anne Bennett, to her four children, that is to say: George,

Edward, Elizabeth and Mary—my lands when they come of age ” (Norfolk County, Va., Clerk’s Office, Book E, 51; *Virginia Magazine*, XXXI, 347). The Inventory of Estate, 11 May 1670, includes one Bible valued at 30 lbs tobacco, five printed books (at 10 lbs. each) valued at 50 lbs. tobacco (*Lower Norfolk County Antiquary*, I, 106).

POST MORTEM NOTE: 1688—Whereas one Charles Egerton, Desc., Late of this County . . . gave and bequeathed unto the foure children of Anne Benitt: George, Edward, Elizabeth and Mary or to such of them as shall live to come to age, all his Land to bee equally Divided . . . and whereas George and Edward . . . died in their Minority, Soe that Elizabeth and Mary beinge the onely Surviving Children of the said Anne Benett and being of Competent and Lawful age and being both married, Elizabeth the Elder to Henry Collins and Mary the younger to Thomas Ewell, Doe . . . make . . . Division and Partition . . . Sixty acres . . . old Fields and Seared ground . . . portion of Elizabeth . . . all woodlands . . . remaining part . . . one hundred and four acres is the Shair part and proportion of Mary the younger Daughter now wife of Thomas Ewell . . . ye forth yeare of the Reigne of our Sovereign Lord King James ye Second . . .”

Signed: Henry Collins (seal), Elizabeth Collins (seal), Thomas Ewell (seal), Mary Ewell (seal). (Norfolk Co., Lib. 5, fol. 74.)

2. CHARLES² EGERTON, of Lower Norfolk County, Virginia and of St. Mary’s County Maryland, died in St. Mary’s County in 1699.

1675 June 16—Charles Egerton was on a jury to inquire into an accusation of witchcraft against one Joan Jenkins (*Lower Norfolk Co., Va., Antiquary*, VII, 50).

1683 Feb. 1—Deed to Charles Egerton of Lower Norfolk County, Va., from William Thomas and Susan his wife, of Lankford Bay, Kent County, Md., for 19,000 pounds of tobacco in cask, “all that plantation and tract of land called Punckney Marsh, in St. Michael’s Hundred in St. Mary’s County, between the land of Richard Atwood and Hugh Manning, 200 acres.” (Signed) William Thomas, and witnessed by George Parker and Robert Carville. Acknowledged, 2 Dec. 1684 (Provincial Court Records, Annapolis, Liber W. R. C. no. 1, folios 312 *et seq.*).

1685 Oct. 3—At a Court held at St. Mary’s City, Randolph Brandt, *Charles Egerton* and ten others were on the jury in the case of one Rebecca Fowler of Calvert County, Md., accused of witchcraft (Judgment Records of Provincial Court of Maryland, Liber T. G. (2) 1682-1702; *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXI, 283, 284).

1687—"One Raymond, a Papist priest, did publicly in Court declare that he intended the house of *Mr. Charles Egerton*, the house of Captain Robert Jordan and the house of Henry Usdick to meet at, there celebrate the Mass and other rites of their church" (*William and Mary Quarterly*, I^o, I, 47).

1689 Jan. 14—Deed from Charles Calvert of St. Mary's County, gent., son and heir of William Calvert, Esq., deceased, to Charles Egerton of St. Mary's County, Merchant, conveys for the sum of 30000 lbs. of tobacco 2400 acres of land. "Whereas, Ye Rt. Hon. Cecilius Calvert, late Lord Proprietary, etc., of Maryland, by Letters Patent dated 11 Feb. 1662, did grant unto the said William Calvert, deceased, a tract of land on the east side of Piscataway River and on the south side of Piscataway Creek, beginning at a marked oak ye bound tree of Randolph Henson [Hanson?] and running [etc.], then laid out for 3000 acres; and, Whereas further, ye said William Calvert upon marriage of his daughter Elizabeth with James Neale of Charles County, gent., did give unto the said James Neale and his wife, or one of them, 600 acres part of the aforesaid 3000 acres, which 3000 acres are situated in Charles County and are a part of ye land that was reserved for ye Indians in 1668" . . . (Annapolis, Land Records, Charles County Deed Book (abstract), Lib. R. No. 1, 1690-92, fol. 134).

NOTE: "Piscataway" was patented to the Hon. William Calvert, given to his daughter Elizabeth and her husband James Neale who, in turn, gave it (or possibly part of it) to their daughter Mary the wife of Charles³ Egerton, which said Mary after Egerton's death married Jeremiah Adderton. Mary and Charles³ Egerton sold it on 15 Jan. 1703 to James Heath and his heirs (Annapolis, Liber P. C., folio 659).

1694 Dec. 12—Charles Egerton filed in Lower Norfolk County Court House a Power of Attorney for his son Arthur, wherein the former and his wife Anne referred to themselves as formerly of Elizabeth River, Virginia, late of St. Mary's County, Maryland.

1699—. The will of Charles Egerton, of St. Mary's County, dated Mch. 11 and proved April 11, 1699, devised to his wife Anne, for life, "Pountney's Marsh," elsewhere written "Punckney Marsh," and named her executrix and residuary legatee of his personal estate. He devised to his son George the plantation aforesaid, after his wife's death and also a right in land bought from Charles Calvert which was purchased from Robert Large;

To his son Charles, land on Potomac River, called "Piney Neck"; * To his other four sons John, Thomas, Randolph and James Egerton jointly, 2400 acres in the freshes of Potomac River, on the north side of the river, generally called "Piscataway," they to make an equal division of the said 2400 acres into four parts. "As for what other lands I have within the capes in Virginia or Maryland, the same to be sold and disposed of by my executors." To his daughter Mary, he bequeathed 20000 lbs. of tobacco, "provided my executors like her marriage choice; otherwise, one shilling." None of his sons was to leave their mother until 25 years of age. To the Rev. Father John Hall, 1000 lbs. of tobacco more, on the anniversary of the testator's death. The guardians for his minor children were appointed: namely, Mr. John Hall, Mr. Thomas Groning, Mr. John Sermot and Mr. William Herbert. The executors named, were his sons Charles and John Egerton (St. Mary's County Wills, Liber P. C. no. 1, folios 123 *et seq.*; *Maryland Calendar of Wills*, II, 174).

The Rent Rolls of Prince George County (1696-1723) show that "Piscataway" was in the possession of "Richard Calvert, John Egerton, Thomas Egerton, Randall Egerton and — Egerton, each 600 acres."

Charles² Egerton married Anne Porter, widow of John Godfrey. After Egerton's death, she became the wife of — Boucher and died in 1712. The will of Anne Boucher of St. Michael's Hundred, St. Mary's County, Md., dated Jan. 20 and proved Feb. 7, 1712, bequeathed personal property to her sons Thomas, Randolph, James and George Egerton (executor and residuary legatee) and her daughter Mary Underwood (*Maryland Calendar of Wills*, III, 236). The surviving children of Charles and Anne Egerton were as follows:

3. I. CHARLES³ EGERTON, oldest son, died *circa* 1705 (of whom presently).
 - II. John³ Egerton
 - III. George³ Egerton
 - IV. Thomas³ Egerton
 - V. Randolph³ Egerton
 - VI. James³ Egerton
 - VII. Mary³ Egerton, married — Underwood.
- { In 1699, Charles³ Egerton devised to his sons John, Thomas, Randolph and James, 2400 acres of the Piscataway Tract. On 10 Nov. 1715, Thomas, Randolph and James Egerton of St. Mary's County, conveyed to Thomas Edelen of Prince George's County, Md., the said 2400 acres. On 31 July 1717, "James Egerton of the Province of Maryland, married Miriam Tatum, maiden of Norfolk County, Va., daughter of Elizabeth Tatum." The marriage bond was witnessed by Rand. Egerton and Moses Kidwood (*Lower Norfolk County Antiquary*, III, 41).

* "Piney Neck" seems to be a geographical place-name and not a patented tract name (see Thomas's *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland*, p. 349).

3. CHARLES³ EGERTON, eldest son of Charles² Egerton, was born before 1677 and died *circa* 1705 at "Piney Neck" in St. Mary's County, Maryland. In 1702, he married Mary Neale, born in 1682, daughter of Capt. James Neale (1650/5-1727) who married in 1681 Elizabeth Calvert (died 1684), daughter of Hon. (Col.) William Calvert (1643-1683) by his wife Elizabeth Stone. The last named was the daughter of Gov. William Stone (1604-1660) and his wife Verlinda Cotton? (died 1675).

In 1702, James Neale of Wollaston Manor, Charles County, Maryland (son of James and Anne (Gill) Neale), born about 1650 in Europe, conveyed to Mary his daughter by his first wife (Elizabeth Calvert) all the lands received with Elizabeth Calvert as her marriage portion, showing that Mary was her mother's only child. On 10 April 1702, James Neale of Charles County, Md., gent., and Elizabeth his wife conveyed to Charles Egerton, gent. of St. Mary's County, "who hath lately married Mary, daughter of the said James Neale," 600 acres part of a tract of 3000 acres, formerly in Charles County, but now in Prince George's County, Md., patented to William Calvert, Esq., and the aforesaid 600 acres thereof given in marriage with his daughter Elizabeth (Calvert) to the said James Neale (Pr. Geo. Co., Liber A, 449).

Charles Egerton died intestate. On 5 Mch. 1705, the Administration Bond on the estate of Charles Egerton, late of St. Mary's County, deceased, was given by his widow Mary Egerton, as administratrix. James Neale of Charles County and Charles Beckwith of St. Mary's County were her sureties in the sum of £400 sterling (Annapolis, Test. Proc., Lib. 19-c, 40).

Mrs. Mary (Neale) Egerton married (2) Jeremiah Adderton (died 1713); (3) Joseph Van Sweringen (died 1721) and (4) William Deacon. On 17 May 1708 was filed the account of Jeremiah Adderton (d. 1713) and Mary his wife, adm'x of Charles Egerton of St. Mary's County (Annapolis, Inv. and Accts., Liber 28, fol. 221); and on 30 Dec. 1710 a further Account was filed by the same couple (*ibid.*, Lib. 32-B, fol. 11).

Between 1713 and 9 Sept. 1715, the widow married her third husband, Joseph Van Sweringen (d. 1721), and about 1722/23 she married her fourth, William Deacon. On 8 Mch. 1721, as Mary Van Sweringen of St. Mary's County, widow, she deposed her age as 39 years.

By her first husband, Charles Egerton, Mary Neale had issue as follows:

4. I. JAMES⁴ EGERTON, born *circa* 1703; died 1768 (of whom presently).
II. Charles⁴ Egerton, died *circa* 1738.

4. JAMES⁴ EGERTON was born *circa* 1703 and died in 1768, in St. Mary's County, Maryland. The will of James Egerton of St. Mary's County was dated 16 Jan. 1765 and proved 26 July 1768 (St. Mary's County Will Book T. A. no. 1, folio 559; Annapolis, W. B. 36, 531). He bequeathed to his son, Charles Calvert⁵ Egerton, three negro slaves together with the three negroes mentioned in a deed of gift to the said son, "when he arrives at 18 years of age." Also, to his said son Charles Calvert⁵ Egerton he devised his dwelling plantation at "Piney Neck," formerly the property of Charles² Egerton (died 1699) who devised it to his eldest son Charles³ Egerton. The latter died in 1705, intestate, and the estate was inherited by his eldest son James, mentioned above. In addition to the "Piney Neck" estate, which James's will stipulated should not be disposed of until his son arrived at 21 years of age, Charles Calvert Egerton was devised one other tract called "Bluestone Neck," and was made residuary legatee. The will also mentions: "My grandson Michael Jenifer, son of Michael Jenifer and Mary Ann his wife; my grandson Parker Jenifer and my granddaughter Dorkey Jenifer; to my son-in-law Michael Jenifer, a young cow and calf, in full of his deceased wife Mary Ann's part of my estate."

The testator's friend, Richard Swan Edwards, was to have the care of Charles Calvert Egerton's estate until the latter attained the age of 18 years, but Edwards refused to serve. The will was witnessed by John Tennison, Samuel Cottrell and Charles Loe (Lowe?). No wife is mentioned in the will.

James⁴ Egerton had issue as follows:

5. I. CHARLES CALVERT⁵ EGERTON, born *circa* 1748; died 1778 (of whom presently):
II. Mary Ann⁵ Egerton, died *ante* 1765; married Michael Jenifer.
5. CHARLES CALVERT⁵ EGERTON was born *circa* 1748 and died in 1778 in St. Mary's County, Maryland. The will of Charles Calvert Egerton of St. Mary's County was dated 19 Sept. 1777 and proved 5 May 1778 (St. Mary's County Will Book, J. J. no. 1, folios 58 *et seq.*).

The testator named his wife Mary as his executrix and gave her his lands during her widowhood. He mentioned his five children in order as follows: James (eldest), Calvert, Ann, Sarah, and Bennett Egerton. The will was witnessed by Bennett Biscoe, Solomon Jones and James Biscoe.

Charles Calvert Egerton married (Mary Bennett?) and had issue as follows:

6. I. JAMES⁶ EGERTON, born *circa* 1770 (of whom presently).
 II. Calvert⁶ Egerton, died 14 May 1833 aged 59 years, *sine prole*.
 III. Ann⁶ Egerton.
 IV. Sarah⁶ Egerton.
7. V. BENNETT⁶ EGERTON (of whom presently).
6. JAMES⁶ EGERTON (*Charles Calvert*⁵, etc.), of Chaptico, St. Mary's County, Maryland, was born about 1770. In 1799, he purchased from Henry Neale 250 acres of "Bashford Manor." On 17 Feb. 1807 a deed from James Eden of St. Mary's to James Egerton, for the sum of \$2300.00 current money, conveys 277 acres, part of "Bashford Manor," lying on Chaptico Bay between the lands of said James Egerton and Edward and John Maddox, known commonly as the "Indian Fields."

James Egerton married (1) 1792 Matilda Bond of Benedict, St. Mary's County, Maryland (daughter of "Col. Richard Bond and Susanna Key") and had issue as follows:

- I. Susanna Key⁷ Egerton, born 1794; married (1) 14 Feb. 1811 Edward Wilder (1770-1828), of Charles County, Md., and had issue; married (2) ——— Kent. She removed from Maryland to Kentucky about 1830.
8. II. CHARLES CALVERT⁷ EGERTON, born 26 Feb. 1797; died 27 May 1862 (of whom presently).
- III. Richard⁷ Egerton, born 1798.

James Egerton married (2) in 1805 Eliza Chesley and had issue as follows:

9. IV. ROBERT CHESLEY⁷ EGERTON (of whom presently).
 V. Elizabeth⁷ Egerton, married Thomas Swann of Louisville, Ky.
7. BENNETT⁶ EGERTON (*Charles Calvert*⁵, etc.) Married (1) Ada DuBois and had issue as follows
 10. I. JOHN B.⁷ EGERTON (of whom presently).
 11. II. CHARLES CALVERT⁷ EGERTON (of whom presently).
 12. III. DuBois⁷ EGERTON (of whom presently).
8. CHARLES CALVERT⁷ EGERTON (*James*⁶, *Charles Calvert*⁵, etc.) was born 26 Feb. 1797 in St. Mary's County, Maryland and died 27 May 1862 in Baltimore, Md. He is buried in Green Mount Cemetery, as likewise is his second wife, Rebecca Callis, born 3 Dec. 1803, died 7 April 1888, sister of his first wife.

Charles Calvert Egerton married (1) Susan Callis (1801-1822) and had issue as follows:

- I. James Henry⁸ Egerton, married ——— Wolff and had issue, one son.
- II. Rebecca Ann⁸ Egerton, married (1) William Lawrence. Issue: William, Rev. Edward, Willard and Ida Lawrence.

Charles Calvert Egerton married (2) Rebecca Callis (1803-1888) and had issue as follows:

13. III. PHILIP ALEXANDER⁸ EGERTON (of whom presently).
 - IV. Mary Annette⁸ Egerton, married Wesley Wilson, son of John Fletcher Wilson of Portland Manor, Anne Arundel County, Md., and had issue: Lelia, died aged five years.
 - V. Rosetta⁸ Egerton, married William P. Whiting of Hampton, Va., and had issue: William Kennon, married Kate Viers; Florence Beverly, married Wills Lee of Hampton, Va.; Wesley Wilson, d. unm.; Mary Mallory, married Fred. Webster; Rosetta, married Samuel Parran.
14. VI. CHARLES CALVERT⁸ EGERTON (of whom presently).
 - VII. Clara⁸ Egerton, married Robert Dibley of N. Y. Issue: Eliza, Julia, Clara, Isabel, Robert.
 - VIII. Julia⁸ Egerton, married Robert D. Semmes. Issue: Clara, married John D. Bird.
15. IX. WILLIAM A.⁸ EGERTON (of whom presently).
 - X. Eleanora B.⁸ Egerton, died unmarried.
16. XI. SAMUEL EDWIN⁸ EGERTON, born 18 Nov. 1839; died 17 Aug. 1895 (of whom presently).
 - XII. Virginia⁸ Egerton, died in infancy.

9. ROBERT CHESLEY⁷ EGERTON (*James⁶, Charles Calvert⁵, etc.*), of Petersburg, Va., died 1852; married 1830 Clarinda Smith (died 1869) and had issue as follows:

- I. Laura⁸ Egerton, born 1831; died in infancy.
- II. Robert Laurence⁸ Egerton, born in 1833; married in 1880 Jennie Buckler of Louisville, Ky.
- III. Janet Smith⁸ Egerton, born in 1835.
- IV. May Elizabeth⁸ Egerton, born in 1838; died in 1859.
- V. William Bridgewater⁸ Egerton, born in 1840.
- VI. Susan Melville⁸ Egerton, born in 1842; married (1) in 1861 Capt. Robert Freeman, (2) Dr. D. W. Hand of St. Paul, Minn.
- VII. Louisa Clarinda⁸ Egerton, born in 1845; married in 1869 Wm. Evelyn Cameron of Petersburg, Va., who later became Governor of Virginia.
- VIII. James Chesley⁸ Egerton, born in 1847; married in 1869 Virginia Ann Lefler and removed to Minneapolis. Issue: Walter Chesley Egerton and Maude Cameron Egerton.
- IX. Robert Oscar⁸ Egerton, born in 1851; married Bessie Stuart Hall of Petersburg, Va.

10. JOHN B.⁷ EGERTON (*Bennett⁶, Charles Calvert⁵, etc.*) married twice. He married (1) ——— Higgenbotham, who died *sine prole*. He married (2) ——— Fowler, and had issue as follows:

- I. John B.⁸ Egerton.
- II. Maud⁸ Egerton.
- III. a daughter.
- IV. a daughter.
- V. a daughter.

11. CHARLES CALVERT⁷ EGERTON (*Bennett⁶, Charles Calvert⁵, etc.*) was born in 1816 and died in 1893. He was in command of Maryland Troops at Harper's Ferry at the time of John Brown's raid, 16 Oct. 1859. Gen. Charles C. Egerton commanded the Second Light Brigade, from Baltimore, in the M. V. I. He

married Elizabeth Hall of Howard County, Md., and had issue as follows:

- I. Minnie⁸ Egerton, married J. T. Ringgold.
- II. Mary⁸ Egerton, married M. E. Reid.
- III. Sophia⁸ Egerton.
- IV. Virginia⁸ Egerton.

12. DuBois⁷ EGERTON (*Bennett⁶, Charles Calvert⁵, etc.*) married Ada McCrea and had issue as follows:

- I. John B.⁸ Egerton, removed to Long Island, N. Y.
- II. Mary DuBois⁸ Egerton, married Professor Thayer of Boston.

13. PHILIP ALEXANDER⁸ EGERTON (*Charles Calvert⁷, James⁶, Charles Calvert⁵, etc.*), married Margaret Schley Saunderson. Removed to New York City. Issue as follows:

- I. Edgar⁹ Egerton.
- II. Ella⁹ Egerton.
- III. Henry⁹ Egerton.
- IV. Frank⁹ Egerton.
- V. Minnie⁹ Egerton.

14. CHARLES CALVERT⁸ EGERTON (*Charles Calvert⁷, James⁶, Charles Calvert⁵, etc.*), married Virginia Turner and had issue as follows:

- I. Charles Carroll⁹ Egerton.
- II. Emma⁹ Egerton.
- III. Lulie⁹ Egerton.
- IV. Virginia⁹ Egerton.
- V. Maud⁹ Egerton.

15. WILLIAM A.⁸ EGERTON (*Charles Calvert⁷, James⁶, Charles Calvert⁵, etc.*), married Ellen Wilson of New York and had issue as follows:

- I. Bayard⁹ Egerton, married Mamie Sauerberg.
- II. Nellie⁹ Egerton, married (1) Richard Lee Fearn; (2) Admiral Plunkett, U. S. N.
- III. Bessie⁹ Egerton, married Fred. Hutchinson.

16. SAMUEL EDWIN⁸ EGERTON (*Charles Calvert⁷, James⁶, Charles Calvert⁵, etc.*) was born 18 Nov. 1839 at Chaptico, Md., and died 17 Aug. 1895 at Baltimore, to which city he removed at the age of 18 years. His wife, Elizabeth Duvall Wilson, was born on 18 Aug. 1849 at Wakefield, Westmoreland County, Va., spent most of her young life at Portland Manor, Anne Arundel County, Md., the home of her grandfather, and died 3 Sept. 1905 at Baltimore. Both are buried in Green Mount Cemetery.

Samuel Edwin Egerton married 20 Nov. 1866, at St. James Church, Anne Arundel County, Elizabeth Duvall Wilson and had issue as follows:

I. Samuel E.⁹ Egerton, born 7 Dec. 1867; died in 1868. Buried in Green Mount Cemetery.

II. John Fletcher⁹ Egerton, born 6 Jan. 1869; died 25 Feb. 1925 at Manila, P. I.; married Susan Yeatman of Norfolk, Va., *sine prole*.

17. III. STUART⁹ EGERTON, born 21 Nov. 1870 (of whom presently).

18. IV. SAMUEL EDWIN⁹ EGERTON, born 6 Aug. 1872 (of whom presently).

V. Kennon Whiting⁹ Egerton, born 4 April 1874; died 27 Nov. 1916; married Agnes Moore of Danville, Va., *sine prole*.

VI. Elizabeth Wilson⁹ Egerton, born 25 April 1876; died 21 June 1877. Buried in Green Mount Cemetery.

VII. Florence Beverly⁹ Egerton, born 9 Jan. 1878; married Brig. Gen. Walter Driscoll Smith, U. S. A. Issue.

VIII. Martha Rankin⁹ Egerton, born 9 Jan. 1880; married Admiral Ernest J. King, U. S. N., born 23 Nov. 1878 at Lorain, Ohio.

IX. Helen Duvall⁹ Egerton, born 15 Jan. 1881; died 12 Dec. 1881. Buried in Green Mount Cemetery.

X. Ethel Wilson⁹ Egerton, born 30 Aug. 1882; died 26 Nov. 1884. Buried in Green Mount Cemetery.

17. STUART⁹ EGERTON (*Samuel Edwin⁸, Charles Calvert⁷, James⁶, Charles Calvert⁵, etc.*) was born 21 Nov. 1870, at Baltimore, Maryland. Stuart Egerton married 21 Oct. 1896 Martha M. White, born 4 Sept. 1873, daughter of Gen. James McKenny White (1842-1925) and had issue as follows:

19. I. STUART WILSON¹⁰ EGERTON, born 15 Aug. 1897 (of whom presently).

20. II. JAMES MCKENNY WHITE¹⁰ EGERTON, born 12 July 1905 (of whom presently).

18. SAMUEL EDWIN⁹ EGERTON (*Samuel Edwin⁸, Charles Calvert⁷, James⁶, Charles Calvert⁵, etc.*) was born 6 Aug. 1872, at Baltimore, Maryland.

Samuel Edwin Egerton married 7 April 1896 Bessie Appleton Tyler (died 1 Dec. 1937), daughter of George Tyler, and had issue as follows:

I. a son, died in infancy.

II. a son, died in infancy.

III. a son, died in infancy.

IV. Elizabeth¹⁰ Egerton, married William Conklin.

V. Samuel James¹⁰ Egerton, died 10 July 1936, unmarried.

VI. John Wilson¹⁰ Egerton, married 13 April 1936 Martha Jane Broderick, daughter of Bartlett C. Broderick.

19. STUART WILSON¹⁰ EGERTON (*Stuart⁹, Samuel Edwin⁸, Charles Calvert⁷, James⁶, Charles Calvert⁵, etc.*) was born 15 Aug. 1897 and is a practising physician of Baltimore, Md. He received his A. B. degree in 1918 and his M. D. degree in 1923, at the Johns Hopkins University. He was Lieutenant in the 67th Field Artillery in 1918. He married 25 Sept. 1923 Katherine Bailey Lalor, born 3 Dec. 1901, dau. of Wm. B. Lalor of Phila., Pa., and had issue as follows:

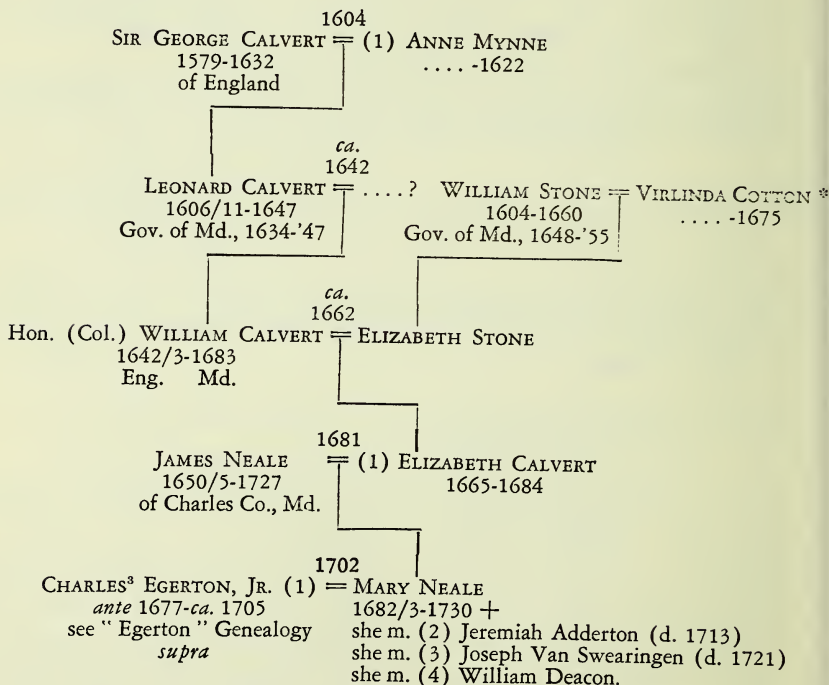
I. Katherine Bailey¹¹ Egerton, born 12 Sept. 1925.

II. Martha Stuart¹¹ Egerton, born 23 June 1927.

20. JAMES MCKENNY WHITE¹⁰ EGERTON (*Stuart*⁹, *Samuel Edwin*⁸, *Charles Calvert*⁷, *James*⁶, *Charles Calvert*⁵, etc.) was born 12 July 1905 and is a practising attorney-at-law of Baltimore, Md. He received his A. B. degree at Princeton University in 1927 and was graduated from the Harvard Law School in 1930. He married 5 May 1931 Carolyn Howell Griswold, born 5 Dec. 1908, dau. of Benjamin Howell Griswold, Jr., and grand dau. of Alexander Brown of Baltimore, and had issue as follows:

- I. McKenny White¹¹ Egerton, Jr., born 28 March 1932.
 II. Benjamin Griswold¹¹ Egerton, born 23 Jan. 1935.
 III. Stuart¹¹ Egerton, 3rd, born 23 Aug. 1938.

EGERTON—CALVERT



* Verlanda Cotton is usually given as the maiden name of the wife of Gov. William Stone of Maryland. Mr. J. B. Calvert Nicklin, however, believes that he has evidence to prove that she was Verlanda Graves, a daughter of Capt. Thomas Graves of Virginia, and a sister to Ann the wife of Rev. William Cotton and to the wife of Capt. William Roper. Cotton (d. 1646) in his will called Stone and Roper his brothers-in-law.

BOOK REVIEWS

Sailor of Fortune, the Life and Adventures of Commodore Barney, U. S. N.
By HULBERT FOOTNER. New York, Harper [1940]. 323 pp. \$3.50.

On July 6, 1759, a child was born to the wife of William Barney, a fairly well-to-do individual living near the village of Baltimore. It is unlikely that the infant's arrival was greeted with any great celebration by his parents, for he was one of fourteen. His father named him Joshua and let it go at that. What he could not know was that he was christening a man-child who was to grow up to be one of the outstanding figures of the nation yet to be born.

History has not been kind to Joshua Barney, although he was one of the important characters of the War of the Revolution and the subsequent unpleasantness between the United States and Great Britain in the 1812-15 period. Aside from historians and some native Marylanders it is unlikely that many residents of the United States of 1940 even so much as know the name. This is not entirely strange; Barney was never called upon to save the nation, although he was constantly requested to serve it. A man of unquestioned ability as a seaman and a fighter, his life was one of constant turmoil, both at sea and on land, and, while he usually defeated his enemies at sea, he constantly made fresh ones on land and these he was not always able to overcome.

When he died late in 1818, in Pittsburgh, far from the salt water he loved, he left an autobiography and a daughter-in-law, Mrs. Mary Barney, who was to become his first biographer. Since that work appeared, more than a century ago, Barney has been the subject of a number of shorter pieces and of another full-length biography, this by Ralph D. Paine. Mary Barney's book is, naturally, prejudiced and the Paine work cannot be wholeheartedly recommended. Mr. Footner, who is best known for his detective novels but whose book, *Charles' Gift*, a history of his home in Southern Maryland, received great commendation when it appeared last year, has interested himself in Barney. *Sailor of Fortune* is the excellent result.

It is difficult for the average individual of today, especially one unacquainted with the mode of living in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to realize that, in those days comparative infants of ten, eleven and twelve years of age were starting on their careers. This was true, however, and especially so of boys whose lives were to be spent at sea. In 1771, when Barney was almost twelve and had already worked on shore for a year, he was permitted to enter the life he most desired—that of a seaman. He was placed aboard a Chesapeake Bay pilot boat. Less than a year later he became an apprentice on a deep-water brig and was studying navigation under a master who was "brutal to me." Through a chain of circumstances he was forced to take over the command of the brig before he was sixteen years old. The master, the "brutal" one, died while the ship was at sea and Joshua, being the only "artist" or navigator aboard, became master. Such things were unusual in those days, but not unknown. However, the difficulties which presented themselves on a voyage across the Atlantic in a leaky tub of a ship and the troubles which confronted the youngster after finally reaching port were met

in a way which indicated the mental and physical courage deep-rooted in William Barney's child.

This courage and resourcefulness Mr. Footner has developed fully, although with a touch of hero worship. Barney brought his command back into Baltimore late in 1775, to receive the hearty congratulations of the vessel's owner and the news that his country was in active rebellion against His Majesty, George III. Shortly thereafter the youth was able to obtain a commission as second lieutenant aboard one of the smaller of the few ships fondly called a navy by the Continental Congress. From that time on Barney was never at a loss while he was on the deck of a ship while, on the other hand, he frequently lost and lost heavily when transacting business ashore. It is true that he was captured several times by British vessels, finally landing in that British hell-hole, Old Mill prison. The captures were effected, however, by far superior forces; and one of the most entertaining parts of Mr. Footner's work deals with his hero's successful escape from the unpleasant and confining jailhouse.

It was after this escape that his meteoric rise began. He met Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and a number of other persons directing the destinies of his native land. He kissed the cheek of Marie Antoinette, Queen of France (Barney the seaman was also Barney the swashbuckling gentleman and the delight of the ladies) and met several other members of the ruling families of Europe. He drew words of praise from his adversaries at sea and the respectful hate afforded him by his enemies at home showed that his was a forceful character. And yet it is this character and these enemies which have probably kept him from ranking with the John Paul Jones's and the Decatur's of the nation, for Barney could never seem to find himself.

He married in 1780 and, his naval prospects appearing slim (the United States Navy had been pretty well shot to pieces by the British) he decided to settle down and carve a fortune out of life ashore. True to himself, he put all of his funds in a satchel and set out from Dover, Delaware, where he and his bride were living, to Baltimore, where the fortune was to be made. He was careless with his satchel and when he reached his destination the money had been removed. He never told Mrs. Barney of the theft; instead he found another berth aboard a ship and started after another stake.

His business ventures were usually hectic, it might be said. There was no middle ground to Barney; everything he did was on the grand scale.

While away on a venture for the firm (he never let home ties hold him when there was an opportunity to get to sea) he was offered a place with the French Navy. Marie Antoinette was gone and the Directory held sway. But Barney, seeing little opportunity in the naval prospects at home, accepted the offer and his acceptance was promptly seized upon by his enemies at home. No one has ever been able to prove that the Commodore (for such was his rank with the French) ever raised his hand against American ships, despite the fact that his country-by-adoption was virtually at war with the United States. Lack of such proof meant little, however, to politicians in Baltimore. Later he resigned his commission and returned home, to offer his services (which were promptly accepted) when the War of 1812 broke out. He did a trick at privateering in the schooner *Rossie*, but found greater fame and less commendation as commander of the gunboat squadron in the Patuxent

River and of the sailors who put up the only resistance at that fiasco of American arms, Bladensburg. After the war, worn out by the hardships of his life and suffering from the wound he had received at Bladensburg, Barney decided to leave Maryland and establish himself on some property he owned in Kentucky. Even in this he was unsuccessful, dying en route.

Despite the fact that, reading between the lines, *Sailor of Fortune* is the life of a great man greatly frustrated, the book is absorbing; it could not be otherwise, considering the central character and the skill of the author. It is obvious that Mr. Footner has carried out his research carefully and thoroughly and has made every effort to be fair with everyone concerned. He paints an excellent picture of the times, and the historical background before which the characters move is put in with a fine hand. There is excitement aplenty although the author has made no effort to "dress up" the accounts of battles to the detriment of the more peaceful scenes. *Sailor of Fortune* fills an all-too-empty crevice in United States history and is, in addition, delightful reading.

WILLIAM B. CRANE.

The Old Bay Line. By ALEXANDER CROSBY BROWN. Richmond, the Dietz Press, 1940. 176 pp. \$2.50.

In this year of 1940 the Baltimore Steam Packet Company, alias the Old Bay Line, celebrates an even century of continuous operation on the waters of the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries. As the oldest steamship line in the United States it may well be proud of its tradition of service to the region through which it runs and of its general contribution to the transportation system of the country. It has reason also to be proud of Mr. Brown's volume as an eminently fitting monument to its achievements.

Only one who has himself tried it can really appreciate the enormous labor of research required in the preparation of a volume which covers so long a period in the history of an institution. Nor is the gathering of source material more than a beginning of such labor, for the gatherer must then sift it out and decide what can be used and what, for one reason or another, must be discarded. In the present instance the work has been complicated by the loss of company records by fire and flood. In spite of all these difficulties Mr. Brown has collected and collated facts from those extant, from newspapers, books, magazines, pamphlets, archives, and advertisements—an invaluable source of information for the days when journals devoted their news columns to editorial comment on world affairs and national politics—and he has turned them into a book which is not only an excellent contribution to the history of the Chesapeake Bay but also to the history of steam navigation in this country. And what is of equal merit, and of even greater difficulty, he has made it an interesting contribution.

One is apt, when dealing with such a subject, to adopt the so-called catalogue method of writing which, while it presents the facts, makes very dreary reading. *The Old Bay Line* is far from that. The book, indeed, makes one want to take the trip down the Chesapeake, or up it, in one of the "superb and commodious" steamers which are so admirably described. While the book as a whole is excellent, two chapters are outstanding. The first, which describes a trip down the Bay by a mythical Mr. Smith in the steamer *Georgia*

in 1840, more than catches the spirit of the times. The second describes the awful night of August 22, 1933 when a hurricane roared along the Chesapeake and covered its shores with wrack and ruin. Mr. Brown has had first hand experience with hurricanes, and it will be a rare reader who can go through this chapter without feeling something of the fear and the excitement of the Bay Line's passengers that night.

Mr. Brown has included a number of interesting and useful appendices, one of which lists all the vessels of the company, with the names of their builders, and other pertinent facts. There is also an excellent index. The format of the volume shows a high skill in book designing and its sixty-odd illustrations add no little to its appeal. In brief: *The Old Bay Line* is accurate, interesting, and well-dressed.

JOHN PHILIPS CRANWELL

Maryland, A Guide to the Old Line State. Compiled by workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Projects Administration in the State of Maryland. . . . New York, Oxford University Press. 561 pp. \$2.75.

Marylanders who waited—and waited—for the appearance of the much publicized *Guide* to their State were pretty much in the position, when it finally went to press, of the man who balked at the idea of tasting a radish. They were, they felt, "apt not to like it."

It is pleasant, consequently, to be able to report that, in spite of the delays and the high cost per word, the Maryland Writers' Project has produced a volume which does both it and the State genuine credit. There are some mistakes. Perhaps, under the circumstances, mistakes were inevitable. To this reviewer, at least, it seems remarkable not that there are mistakes, but that there are not more of them.

The *Guide* makes no pretensions. At the same time it covers more completely than any previous book has done the history and mores of the State from its settlement to the extraordinary bequest of a native son who, in his will, set aside several hundred thousand dollars for a university auditorium embellished with the portraits of women he had known and found beautiful. In a series of short essays the various facets which have combined to make Maryland history a maze of contradictions and to produce an *elan vitale* in a people who would rather eat than fight, but have a genius for both, are described in as much detail as is possible in a book of this type. The influence of the State's waterways on its development as a transportation center, the good business inherent in religious toleration, the lagging story of education, the hectic career of the press, the delight of the people in all that pertains to the horse and their reluctance to run after strange gods in the arts are presented as dominant colors in a mosaic whose pattern every Marylander will recognize as authentic.

No effort has been made to produce a work of literature, but there is good writing in the book, particularly in the essay on architecture. "Maryland," its author tells us, "always has glanced over its shoulder at the past, but it could adapt designs and also create them to meet local needs. Not only did the traditional Georgian Colonial style reach a high development here, but the province and early State also produced new designs of importance.

Within the limited area of Maryland there is an astonishing variety, from the spreading houses built by an almost feudal aristocracy in the mild climate of the Tidewater to stone cottages erected by mountain pioneers for shelter against winds and snows rivalling those of Vermont." One would go far to find the situation more simply or more graphically put.

Perhaps the greatest value provided by the Maryland guide book inheres in its power of suggestion. Of the great mass of information accumulated by the authors of the book only a small part could be used. Good judgment has prevailed, for the most part, in the sifting process but enough remains to fill many a volume. Reading what has been selected for presentation here should encourage all Marylanders to dig further for themselves and some to embody the results in books developing subjects treated sketchily, if at all, in the present volume.

The tours to which the rest of the book stands as a background are well planned and well "covered." The authors have been aware that there is more to each than will meet the eye and have filled in the picture with historic data and anecdote.

Considered solely as an example of book-making, the volume in every respect lives up to the high traditions of the Oxford Press. The illustrations are numerous and excellent.

KATHERINE SCARBOROUGH.

They Built the Capitol. By I. T. FRARY. Richmond, Va., Garrett & Massie [1940]. 324 pp. \$4.00.

Some writers on this subject are inclined to wade us through a century of ponderous government reports, a vast swamp like the early Washington landscape, and we flounder in the mist, hoping to scare up a Hoban or Hallet.

Not so with Mr. Frary. On this trip the sun is shining, the blackbirds singing and the tide is up, as we are poled through acres of golden butterweed; and there is a bag-limit of exciting game: Jefferson, L'Enfant, Thornton, Hadfield, Latrobe, Bulfinch and Mills.

Strange, indeed, so much remains to be written about these distinguished men; and to find such an impressive group clustered here so conveniently is like having Bramante, Raphael, the San Gallos, Peruzzi, Michael Angelo and Bernini—half the great Renaissance—under St. Peter's majestic dome.

In other, less happy, ways we are reminded of that Italian masterpiece, the histories of both buildings being replete with the miserable quarrels and misunderstandings, the exquisite pangs and agonies that beset artistic temperaments when they must compromise with politics or church.

The outlook seemed less dark while the great sympathetic hand of Jefferson was there, passing out a sketch plan for the proposed city; suggesting plans of European cities to be studied, street widths, designs suitable for public buildings, and even hinting at types for residential fronts, when Washington was still "a town of streets without houses." This versatile genius guided so many of his fellow architects and statesmen it would seem he was eminently qualified to advise on the competition for the Capitol and President's House. However, the larger portion of the undertaking fell to pieces, was abandoned and the fight began.

Half a century later control had sunk to its lowest level and anguish should have reigned supreme, only by then the designers had become construction men, specializing in mathematics and more apt to be possessed of a phlegmatic resistance to crushing. We are fortunate that Walter—with faithful Schoenborn—was able to make an iron dome look so harmonious. Probably he accomplished this only by being “a disobedient and rebellious assistant” to Captain Meigs.

The book, which at first appeared to be of the guide-book class, shows under its light and easy manner and very clear illustrations, unmistakable signs of deep study. Little of interest is omitted and the chronology, bibliography and index are so good that things are easy to find. Many items are of peculiar interest to Marylanders, not the least of them being the fact that the designs submitted in the first competition may be seen at the Maryland Historical Society. And where would we be in Baltimore if Mills and Causici, Latrobe and Capellano had not turned our way?

ADDISON F. WORTHINGTON.

“George Washington’s Headquarters” in Georgetown, and Colonial Days, Rock Creek to the Falls. By BESSIE W. GAHN. [Washington, the author], 1940. 114 pp. \$1.25.

Mrs. Gahn, a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, has for many years been interested in the little stone house at 3049 M Street in Georgetown. It has been “known throughout the generations” as the place where the plans for the city of Washington were drawn up. Forty years ago the Children of the American Revolution placed on it a marker saying that George Washington had made it his headquarters in 1791 while he was surveying the District. In 1930 Mrs. Gahn noticed “with dismay” that the marker had been removed as inaccurate, and her time since then has been given to proving the authenticity of the little house, and so removing the stigma placed upon it by “a colored organization, the Citizens Advisory Committee.” She has searched the records in the District of Columbia and at Rockville, and she has had attorneys working, also. She showed her material to the Parks and Planning Commission, and to the late John C. Fitzpatrick. Fitzpatrick’s knowledge of Washington was so great, and his historian’s caution so lively that an unqualified endorsement by him would have put an end to discussion. He said of Mrs. Gahn’s evidence that in his opinion there was no doubt that 3049 M Street had been Suter’s Tavern. Washington’s Diaries say more than once that he had lodged at Suter’s. Fitzpatrick goes on to say, “The only evidence that will upset this conclusion [about 3049 M Street] is evidence stronger than that offered by Mrs. Gahn, and drawn from official records.” Mrs. Gahn herself would be happier if the records of the Georgetown Commissioners for the period could be found. The second half of her book contains notes on early settlers along Rock Creek. The illustrations and the fact that the book has an index add to its value.

ELIZABETH MERRITT.

Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Maryland. Genealogies of the Members and Record of Services of Ancestors. Edited for the Society by FRANCIS BARNUM CULVER. Volume II. Baltimore, the Society, 1940. 398 pp. \$10.00.

This is a nicely bound and well printed book. As to the content it is evident that a great many members of this Society and their genealogists have labored long on the compilation of the data, some of them to the certain knowledge of this reviewer, and the work as a whole is gotten out under the very competent editorship of Mr. Francis B. Culver. This book is a sequel to that published by the Society in 1905 under the editorship of Dr. Christopher Johnston. A moderate number of errors has been discovered in the present work. The editor has announced that these will be dealt with in a page of "errata" which will be presented to all purchasers and owners of copies.

W. B. MARYE.

Barnes-Bailey Genealogy. Compiled by WALTER D. BARNES. Baltimore, the author, 1939. Not paged. \$5.00.

This work bears evidence of having been compiled by a competent genealogist. The first part is replete with quotations from original records. The book is concerned with the many descendants of the early settlers, Thomas Ford, George Bailey and William Barnes, and is undoubtedly a valuable contribution to our store of Maryland genealogies.

W. B. MARYE.

Cecil County, Maryland, Signers of the Oath of Allegiance Sworn by County Justices, March 2d, 1778. By MOLLIE HOWARD ASH. Elkton, the author, 1940. 41 pp. \$5.25.

The discovery in the Court House at Elkton of some dilapidated record books of handmade character led to this publication. From these original rolls, employed in taking the Oath of Allegiance in Cecil County, Miss Ash has transcribed the names of more than 1000 residents. An index is provided. The book is a noteworthy contribution to the genealogical materials of the County.

Who's Who in Maryland; A Biographical Dictionary of Leading Living Men and Women of the States of Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and West Virginia. Vol. 1 . . . Chicago, A. N. Marquis, 1939. 1056 pp. \$12.50.

Brief sketches of nearly 2000 residents of Maryland are included in this useful work of reference which has recently been issued by the publishers of *Who's Who in America*. This is a far larger number than the parent work lists. Revisions from time to time are in view.

NOTES AND QUERIES

SWINGATE-CALVERT

Will Book #24, page 248, Annapolis. Feb. 22, 1742. Benedict Swinket (*sic*) (Swingate!) witnessed the will of Richard Tootell. On Nov. 30, 1745 Benedict Swinket ("The same person now called and known by the name of Benedict Calvert"!) probated this will. Dec. 13, 1745, he was referred to as "Benedict Calvert, Esq., lately Benedict Swinket"! So in the interval between Feb. 22, 1742 and Nov. 30, 1745 Benedict Swingate became Benedict Calvert. The date of his witnessing Tootell's will shows that he was in Maryland earlier than has been hitherto thought, for he was in Anne Arundel County as early as 1742 (O. S.).

In a recent publication appears the following: "Charles, 5th Lord Baltimore, married, first, the Princess Amelia(!). Later, on July 20, 1730, he married Mary Janssen." The English law at that time prohibited the marriage of a member of the Royal family with any of lower rank. The marriage of Charles and Amelia was dissolved or annulled, because of the possibility of the Princess Amelia succeeding to the throne of England. If she had succeeded to the throne (she did not, however) and did not marry a Royal husband—or if she married a Royal husband and had no issue by him, they were afraid that Benedict might claim the throne and oust the Royal family, so the marriage of the Princess Amelia to Charles, Lord Baltimore, which was contrary to English law, was 'hushed up' and the records destroyed and the child Benedict sent to America and kept there, under the care of Dr. George Steuart of Annapolis. He was well provided for financially by his father who also gave him the beautiful estate known as 'Mt. Airy'." Now let us examine this pretty tale: to begin with H. R. H. the Princess Amelia Sophia Eleanor, daughter of King George II, was born on June 10, 1711 and so would have been thirteen years old when Benedict was allegedly born. Therefore she would have had to marry at the age of twelve, and perhaps that would have been "contrary to English law"! The Princess died, unmarried, on Oct. 31, 1786. At the time of the alleged marriage (1723/4) there was no law to prohibit such marriages of the Royal Family. The Royal Marriages Act was not even presented to the House of Lords until Feb. 21, 1772! On Feb. 26th it was read a second time and on Monday, March 2nd, the first enacting clause of the Bill was read to the House in Committee. It was passed by the Lords after a long debate the next day, the vote being 90 to 26. This was March 3, 1772, in the twelfth year of the reign of King George III. At that time Charles, Lord Baltimore, had been dead 21 years; his son and successor, Frederick, last Lord Baltimore, had passed away the preceding year, and the title had become extinct, since Charles, Lord Baltimore of this fairy tale, had no legitimate descendants in the male line. Only the Brownings and the Edens (of whom the present Anthony Eden is one) were his legitimate descendants. Perhaps it is my own fault that this fairy tale has grown to such proportions and appeared definitely in print. In my youth I once stated, anent this Benedict Swingate, later Calvert: "It is said that his mother was one of the daughters of King George II, and that therefore he did not dare divulge the secret or keep the boy in England." The "he" of this foolish statement was Charles, 5th Lord Baltimore. *Mea culpa! The Mary-*

land Journal and Advertiser for Tuesday, Jan. 15, 1788, in speaking of the death of Benedict Calvert "a few days ago in an advanced Age," causes one to wonder why a man only 64 years old, should have been called "in an advanced Age." Perhaps he was older and so born before 1724? Just how old Benedict Swingate was in 1728 when his father, still unmarried at the time and on the verge of a trip to Scandinavia, made a will and left him £2000, we have no way of figuring; but his father was then approaching his 30th year (Sept. 29th) and Benedict may have been anywhere between 4 and 10 years old.

JOHN BAILEY CALVERT NICKLIN,
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Since the foregoing was written Mr. William B. Marye has called my attention to an entry he discovered in Anne Arundel County Court Proceedings, Judgments, 1734-1736, folio 122, among the proceedings for March Court, 1736/7, as follows:

Whereas Information is made to the Court here that a Certain William Baily hath assaulted and Beaten a Certain Infant Child named Benj^a Swingate which Said Wm. Bailey being Present in Court & not denying the fact its ordered that the Sher^t take the said Baily to the Publick whipping Post & give him five Lashes for the Offence af^d and Soon after the Sher^t Returns that he has Executed the Judgm^t af^d as he was Commanded—

From this it would appear that Benedict Swingate-Calvert was in Annapolis as early as the spring of 1737 (N. S.).

J. B. C. N.

THE WICOMICO COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

With the idea of preserving for future generations a record of the development and growth of Wicomico County a group of people met to discuss the best methods to employ toward this end. The Wicomico County Historical Society had its inception immediately following the Bi-Centennial celebration of the founding of Salisbury, which took place August 8-13, 1932. A feature of the celebration was the furnishing of one of our older homes in Colonial period style, and opening it to the public each day during that week. This created such interest in the minds of our own people, as well as visitors, that a meeting was called to consider the formation of a permanent organization with the following purpose: "To foster and keep alive interest in the relics and history of Wicomico County." Seventeen persons were present at this meeting, which was presided over by Dr. William J. Holloway, general chairman of the bi-centennial committee who was elected temporary chairman of the organization, with Miss Dorothy E. Mitchell as temporary secretary. Two other meetings were held in 1932, but because of various reasons interest in the movement became dormant, and no further meetings were held until October 7, 1935. At this time interest had revived in the project, and a meeting was held with Mr. S. King White occupying the chair. It was unanimously decided by those present that a permanent organization should be set up, and a nominating committee was appointed to report on October 10. This committee submitted the following slate,

which was adopted by a unanimous vote: President, Mr. J. William Slemons, Vice-President, Mrs. Marion V. Brewington, Treasurer, Miss Florence Riley, Secretary, Miss Dorothy E. Mitchell, Acting Secretary, Mr. Elmer F. Ruark, who later became secretary following the resignation of Miss Mitchell. In his speech of acceptance, Mr. Slemons outlined very definitely the purpose of the Society, and stressed the need for such an organization in our community. At the meeting of October 21, 1935, Mr. S. King White presented a constitution to the Society, which was adopted, and which contained the following preamble: "The object and purpose of this Society shall be the collection, conservation and preservation of all data and objects of historical interest relating or pertaining to the lives, habits and customs of the settlers and all who have lived in, or had any part in building up and developing what is now Wicomico County, Maryland; to give a better knowledge of and create a greater interest in the history of Wicomico County."

Our charter membership closed on December 31, 1935, with 77 members, and many others have joined since. Our present active membership is approximately eighty. One of the greatest needs of our society was a home in which to deposit and exhibit old manuscripts, books and other articles of historic value, as well as a place in which to hold our meetings. Through the interest and co-operation of the president of the Salisbury State Teachers' College, this need has been realized, and we now occupy a large and convenient room in the college.

The first officers of the Society served for two years, and were succeeded in December, 1937 by the following: President, Mr. Elmer F. Ruark, Vice-President, Mr. William A. Sheppard, Treasurer, Mrs. G. W. D. Waller, Secretary, Mrs. J. S. Taylor. These officers served for two years, with the exception of Mrs. Taylor who resigned because of ill health and was succeeded by Mrs. Lloyd C. Hopkins.

The main achievement of the Society during the few years of its existence has been the mounting of three mural paintings on the walls of the lobby of the new federal building in Salisbury, depicting scenes from the early life of Wicomico County. This was attained largely through the unceasing efforts of J. William Slemons, first president of the Society, who labored to interest others in the completion of this project. The murals were painted by Jacob Getlar Smith, well known New York artist and recipient of the Guggenheim Fellowship, who has painted similar murals for other Federal buildings throughout the country. On September, 18, 1939, a three-fold celebration was held by the Wicomico County Historical Society. First was the dedication of the murals, second was the occupancy of our room in the State Teachers' College and third the seventy-second anniversary of the founding of Wicomico County. We were happy to have with us on this occasion the President of the Maryland Historical Society, who spoke both at the dedicatory services in the afternoon and at our regular business meeting at night, Senator George L. Radcliffe.

At our annual business meeting held in December, 1939, officers elected were as follows: President, Mrs. S. King White, Vice-President, Mr. Howard H. Ruark, Treasurer, Mr. J. Asbury Holloway and Secretary, Mrs. Gladys H. Ellis.

ELMER F. RUARK.

Sir Edmund Plowden: Family and Followers in America—Notes on the activities of Sir Edmund Plowden, patentee and would-be colonizer of New Albion (later New Jersey), who resided in Virginia 1642-1648, have been assembled by Clifford Lewis, 3rd and published with a sketch of Sir Edmund in the *William and Mary College Quarterly* for January, 1940. Mr. Lewis throws light on various persons identified at this period with the Maryland colony, including William Claiborne, Robert Evelyn, Richard Thompson, Henry Fleet, the Eltonheads and Plowdens. Particular interest attaches to this study by reason of the service afforded the author by the unpublished volume of "Virginia Records" prepared more than 70 years ago by Sebastian F. Streeter, first secretary of the Maryland Historical Society. This volume from Judge Henry Stockbridge's estate was presented to the Society in 1930 by Mrs. Stockbridge.

Indian Remains at Piscataway—"An Ossuary Near Piscataway Creek," by Alice L. L. Ferguson, and "A Report on the Skeletal Remains," by T. D. Stewart, are the leading articles in the July, 1940, number of *American Antiquity*, the magazine of the Society for American Archaeology. The very valuable work performed by Mrs. Ferguson in laying bare the site of an important prehistoric Indian town on Potomac River below the mouth of Piscataway Creek is already well known. Mrs. Ferguson has now turned her attention to the business of discovering the historic Indian town of Piscataway, and with remarkable success. For an expert opinion on the skeletal remains which she has uncovered she has had the able assistance of Dr. Stewart. This article is well illustrated with photographs showing, among other matters, many articles of European manufacture recovered from the site, which, taken in conjunction with other circumstances, leave no doubt as to its identity. Of outstanding interest are some eighteen small, copper jetons or medalettes, which once formed part of a necklace. Each one is stamped with a rose crossed by a thistle and surmounted with a crown. According to a report of the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum they were issued between 1630 and 1640 in the reign of Charles I and were used as admission pieces to the ceremony of the King's Touch. The history of Maryland is rarely illuminated by discoveries so interesting as these at Piscataway.

WILLIAM B. MARYE

John Hanson Nominated for the Hall of Fame—John Hanson, first President of the United States in Congress assembled under the Articles of Confederation, who was born on April 13, 1721, in Charles County and lived near Frederick, has been nominated for election this autumn to the Hall of Fame of New York University. A number of Colonial and other patriotic societies have endorsed the nomination of Hanson for election to the Hall of Fame. Mrs. Elizabeth Colton Ewing is president of the John Hanson Society of Maryland, Inc. and Mr. W. N. Morell is secretary.

Taney and Key Nominated for the Hall of Fame—The names of Roger Brooke Taney and Francis Scott Key have been proposed for election to the Hall of Fame of New York University by Hon. Edward S. Delaplaine, Associate Judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals, author and member of the Society. The nominations have been seconded by a large group of attorneys-at-law, including Federal and State jurists in eighteen states, Governors O'Connor and Moore, of New Jersey, Frank J. Hogan and Edwin M. Borchard. Announcement of the results of the balloting is expected in the early fall.

Gist Papers—Mrs. Branford Gist Lynch of Westminster has given to the Hall of Records her collection of valuable Gist family papers. This collection includes several hundred originals as well as copies of Gist papers to be found elsewhere. There is also a manuscript history of the Gist family written by Mrs. Lynch which is being typed at the Hall. One copy will be retained at Annapolis, and another will be deposited at the Maryland Historical Society. The original papers are being arranged and catalogued and will be available to researchers early in the Fall.

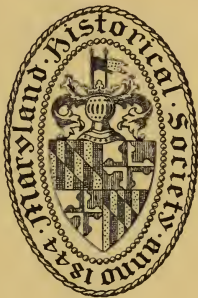
Gale—Information is desired concerning Rasin ("Reese") Gale, who probably was born in Kent County, Maryland. He married Miss (—?) Hines. Their children: 1. Harrison Gale. 2. (—?) Gale; she married a Mr. Kirby who lived at Queenstown, Queen Anne's County. 3. (—?) Gale; she married a Mr. Riley. 4. Wilhelmina Gale; she married a Mr. Boyer. 5. John M. Gale.

PERCY G. SKIRVEN,
19 South Street, Baltimore.

Sewall—For an article in preparation I should appreciate information regarding the wife and children of Henry⁴ Sewall (Clement³, Major Nicholas², Henry¹). I am particularly desirous of knowing the lineage of John Sewall, who married Nancy Cummings of Talbot County in 1797.

Professor HENRY DAVID GRAY,
Stanford University, Calif.

The Maryland Historical Magazine



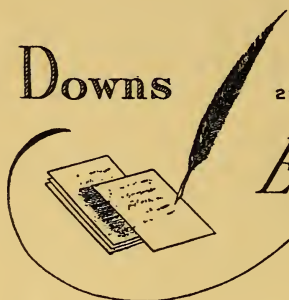
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The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1843, has been engaged in collecting, preserving and disseminating information relating to the history of the State. Through its services to scholars and others in making available collections of research materials, and through its publications, the Society has occupied and always should occupy an important place in the cultural life of Maryland.

Since 1906 the Society has published *The Maryland Historical Magazine*. There are monthly meetings from October to May, inclusive, at which addresses of a historical or literary nature are given. Those interested in the objects of the Society are invited to have their names proposed for membership. The annual dues are \$5.00, life membership \$100.00. Subscription to *The Maryland Historical Magazine* is included in the membership fee of five dollars, as well as the use of the Society's collections and admission to the monthly lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open on every day of the week except Sundays.

The Society depends on the people of Maryland and its friends elsewhere for its maintenance. The gift of documents and books and donations or bequests to the endowment fund, have made it possible to build up a notable historical library. The collections include not only manuscripts dealing with the social, political and military history of the State, but also letters, diaries, business accounts, maps, newspapers, pamphlets, prints and photographs. Only by a continuance of interest in the Society will it be possible to preserve and catalogue its present collections and, of equal importance, to acquire new documents recording the rich history of the people of Maryland. In short, the usefulness of the Maryland Historical Society depends not only upon the number of its members, but upon their generosity as well.

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.



GENERAL WASHINGTON, HIS AIDES AND WOUNDED PRISONER.

Detail from John Trumbull's Painting,
"Capture of the Hessians at Trenton, December 26, 1776."

Robert Hanson Harrison is the mounted figure behind Washington's outstretched hand. The other aides are Tench Tilghman and William Smith of New York, who supports the Hessian, Colonel Rahl. As adjutant to the General, the artist was in close association with Harrison at this time.

Courtesy of the Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University.

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A LOST MAN OF MARYLAND¹

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Lost from the public mind by the passage of many years is the memory of a Marylander who was one of those named to the original Supreme Court of the United States by President George Washington in 1789. Strangely enough, the appointment was not finally accepted.

Of the five men from Maryland who have been honored by appointment to the Supreme Court but two are well remembered today. Samuel Chase, immortalized by being one of the four Maryland signers of the Declaration of Independence, was the central figure in the only impeachment proceeding against a justice of the Supreme Court. Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney, one of the really great justices of the United States, is widely remembered, particularly as the author of the opinion of the Court in the famous Dred Scott case of 1857.

Thomas Johnson is fairly well known in Maryland history for he was the first governor of the State elected under the original Constitution in 1777, but his short tenure of two years on the Court is not so well remembered. Although he served for twenty-five years, Gabriel Duval could be identified by but few people today, while Robert Hanson Harrison, Maryland's first appointee to the tribunal, had one of the most distinguished careers in the history of the State. Yet he may be called the *Lost Man of Maryland*.²

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² For aid in the preparation of this paper the writer desires to record his indebtedness to Hon. Carroll T. Bond, Hon. Walter J. Mitchell, and Miss Lucy Leigh Bowie who for some time have worked to dispel the mists obscuring the career of Harrison, and to Mrs. Ruth Carpenter, La Plata; Dr. M. L. Radoff and Mr. Arthur Trader, Annapolis; Mrs. Lewis Hayden, Baltimore, and Mrs. J. A. Johnston of the Virginia Historical Society. Acknowledgment is also made to the editor of the *Magazine* for general assistance during the progress of this study.

I

Harrison was born in Charles County, Maryland, in the year 1745. His father, Richard Harrison, was of a distinguished Maryland family which had apparently lived in the colony for upwards of a century for we find a Richard Harrison in the "Early Settlers List" of the Land Office as the owner of Holly Spring, 1664, and Harrison's Venture, 1671, in Charles County. On February 18, 1748, one of the militia companies of Charles County which made a return of 182 members of "foot," was commanded by Captain Richard Harrison, presumably father of the subject of this sketch.³

His mother was Dorothy Hanson whose forbears had long played an important role in the events of the colony. Her father was Robert Hanson who died in 1748 and who, it is believed, built "Betty's Delight," in Charles County.⁴

John Hanson of Mulberry Grove, the first president of the Congress of the United States under the Articles of Confederation, sometimes incorrectly referred to as the first president of the United States, was Dorothy Hanson Harrison's first cousin. John Hanson's son, Chancellor Alexander Contee Hanson, with whom Robert Hanson Harrison was often associated, was therefore the latter's second cousin and in the same degree of relationship were such other famous men of Maryland as Thomas Stone, Governor John H. Stone and Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer.⁵

That the Harrison family was one of substantial position is demonstrated by the fact that in 1776 Richard Harrison paid taxes on the following property: "Richards Purchase als Pleasure," 300 acres; "Brits Adventure," 42 acres; "Hansons Plains," 88 acres; "Dover Clifts," 100 acres; "Cough [Cow] Springs," 400 acres; "Carpenters Square," 150 acres; "Antworp," 200 acres; "Hansonton," 277 acres; "Pensylvania," 96- $\frac{2}{3}$ acres; "Petsyvania" [Pitsylvania], 120 acres; "Tompkins Long Lookt For," 200 acres and "St. Edmonds" [St. Edward's?] 73 acres. It appears from the above that some of the Hanson land was included in the wedding dowry of Dorothy Hanson.⁶

It is not certain just where the Harrison home estate was, but it is believed that it was Walnut Landing on the Potomac River about a mile west of the present Riverside, for it was on this property that

³ Hester Dorsey Richardson, *Sidelights on Maryland History*, I, 274.

⁴ J. Bruce Kremer, *John Hanson of Mulberry Grove*, opposite p. 40.

⁵ *Ibid.*, opposite p. 40.

⁶ Land records, Annapolis. The spelling of the names of various plantations is not the same in all references.

the grave stones of two of Richard Harrison's wives, Elizabeth and Dorothy, were found. Elizabeth was born in 1718, died in 1743 and had three children, Verlinda, Joseph and Mary Wade, the last of whom died in infancy. Dorothy, mother of the subject of this story, was born September 10, 1721, and died March 3, 1751.⁷

That the Harrisons were in comfortable circumstances and entertained in the proper style of the day is recorded by Nicholas Cresswell who visited them in May and June 1774. He found Richard Harrison "a very intelligent man" who seemed to "take a pleasure in communicating the customs and manner of his countrymen."⁸

As far as is known Richard and Dorothy Harrison had three children, all sons.⁹ When the first was born in 1745 he was given the name of his maternal grandfather, Robert Hanson. Little is known of the boyhood of the eldest son who like many of the young men of the day was educated for the law, and before long was well on the way toward a career of distinction and public service. His personality was engaging for he had many friends and was highly regarded by those with whom he came in contact. An associate described him as "One in whom every man had confidence and by whom no man was deceived."¹⁰

By 1769 young Harrison seems to have been established in his profession at Alexandria, Virginia. For several years he practiced there with no mean success and is consequently sometimes referred to as a Virginian. Among his associates in social and business matters were George Mason of Gunston Hall, George Washington and George Johnston.¹¹

From the notations in Washington's diaries of payment of fees to Harrison we establish the fact that their relations were at least partly professional. One of the things which they had in common was religion, for Harrison was also of a Church of England family.

Before long the young advocate became a frequent visitor to spacious and hospitable Mt. Vernon¹² and many evenings and week ends found him in the pleasant society of the man destined to play an important role in the life of the yet unborn nation. From such

⁷ Rev. Reginald B. Stevenson, present rector of Durham Church, near Nanjemoy Creek, recently located these graves and removed them to the churchyard.

⁸ *Journal of Nicholas Cresswell*, 19.

⁹ Robert Hanson Harrison, William Harrison and Walter Hanson Harrison. See will of Richard Harrison, office of Register of Wills, Charles County. See also Land Records, liber V, No. 3, Folio 516, in deed of partition between the brothers.

¹⁰ J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, II 309; this statement is attributed to Richard Kidder Meade by Miss Lucy Leigh Bowie in "Robert Hanson Harrison, Colonel and Judge," *Sunday Sun*, Baltimore, March 20, 1932.

¹¹ *Diaries of George Washington*, J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., I, 119.

¹² Emily S. Whiteley, *Washington and His Aides-de-Camp*, 12, 189; also Miss Bowie.

associations, both by the fireside and on exhilarating hunting expeditions over the broad acres by the Potomac there developed between them a strong attachment which continued after the Revolution and was terminated only by Harrison's untimely death.

It was probably while in Alexandria that Harrison became acquainted with George Johnston, Sr., the man who "drew and seconded the fiery resolution" of Patrick Henry against the Stamp Act.¹³ To the Johnston home, Belvale, on the "back" road near the Glebe,¹⁴ the young Marylander found his way on many occasions for he married a daughter of its patriotic proprietor. The marriage must have taken place some time between 1765 and 1772, for although there are no records ascertainable so far, Harrison was but twenty years of age in 1765 and there were two young daughters living when he entered the army in 1775.

When the ominous notes of discord began to arise from the American colonies both Washington and Harrison were found among the protestants. On July 18, 1774, when the "Freeholders and Inhabitants of Fairfax County, Virginia" met at Alexandria and drew up the famous Virginia Resolves, "Geo. Washington, Esq'r" was the chairman and "Robt. Harrison, Gent." was the "clerk of said meeting."¹⁵ A committee was appointed to adopt such measures as should be necessary with power to call a general meeting in the event of an emergency. Among the members were George Washington, George Mason and Robert Hanson Harrison.¹⁶ Harrison had already been appointed to the Committee of Correspondence of Alexandria.¹⁷

When on June 15, 1775, on nomination of Thomas Johnson of Maryland, Washington was unanimously appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army by the Second Continental Congress, one of the first letters of congratulations he received was from the Militia Company of Alexandria, dated July 8, 1775, and written by Robert Hanson Harrison, in which the General was told that the company was ready to march in the service of the colonies.¹⁸

II

The lot of the Commander-in-Chief in the field was not an easy one, but he had the service of several loyal young men in his military

¹³ *Diaries*, I, 119.

¹⁴ Fairfax Harrison, "With Braddock's Army," in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXII, 310; *Diaries*, I, 119.

¹⁵ *Virginia Magazine*, XVIII, 169; *Diaries*, I, 344.

¹⁶ *Virginia Magazine*, XVIII, 169.

¹⁷ *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, VIII, 52.

¹⁸ Whiteley, 13.

family. Joseph Reed was his first secretary and as aides he had Thomas Mifflin, John Trumbull, Edmund Randolph and George Baylor. It was as a member of this group that Robert H. Harrison, already a lieutenant in the 3rd Virginia Regiment,¹⁹ was first invited to use his talents in behalf of the Cause, and it was in essentially the same association with his superior that he served throughout the term of his military experience.

It appears that Harrison hesitated before accepting the position as aide which would of necessity take him far from home, and there was no degree of certainty as to when he might have a chance to return for even a short visit. It is possible, but by no means certain that he was not in the best of health at this time, for it is known that at least by 1777 he was subject to much physical distress.

Probably the strongest reason for his reluctance to leave home was the fact that his two young daughters, Sarah and Dorothy,²⁰ were now motherless.

The decision was not an easy one, for the daughters needed his care, but the call of his country and the request of his friend, George Washington, were most impelling. The deciding factor probably was the offer of a sister-in-law, one of the Johnstons, to take the girls into her own family. With this assurance as to their proper care he set out for Washington's headquarters.²¹

Reed left the field in October to return to Philadelphia for personal reasons and a few days later Harrison arrived in Cambridge. We find an order of 6 Nov. 1775: "Robert Hanson Harrison, Esq., is appointed Aide-de-Camp to His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, and all orders, whether written or verbal coming from the General through Mr. Harrison are to be punctually obeyed."²²

Washington sorely needed the experienced Reed and on November 20, 1775, wrote him about returning, saying that Baylor was not a good penman and Randolph was away on family affairs, and that Robert H. Harrison "though sensible, clear [clever] and perfectly confidential" did not have the wide experience needed at this time and that while he did not want him to come against his interests and

¹⁹ Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army During the War of the Revolution*, 211.

²⁰ Sarah probably was named after Sarah Johnston, her maternal grandmother, possibly her own mother, and Dorothy after her paternal grandmother, Dorothy Hanson Harrison.

²¹ Miss Bowie; see also Bishop William Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, II, 240, for slightly different viewpoint but probably not as accurate.

²² *Writings of George Washington*, W. C. Ford, ed., III, 201, citing *Orderly book*, 6 November, 1775; Heitman, 211.

inclination, he did need his services.²³ Reed did return but shortly afterward resigned and the order was published appointing Harrison as secretary "in the room of Joseph Reed, Esq., whose private concerns will not permit him to continue in that office."²⁴ From that day on the young Marylander became one of Washington's most trusted associates and it was said that "no person possessed the confidence of Washington more entirely than Col. Harrison and to few was he indebted for more valuable services."²⁵

The value of the young Marylander to the Commander in the turbulent times was well expressed by others. Timothy Pickering, in referring to Harrison's part in the campaign of 1777 said he was "a lawyer, a man of sense and a good and ready writer."²⁶ In fact he went even further by saying:

I have even reason to believe that not only the composition, the clothing of the ideas, but the ideas themselves, originated generally with the writers; that Hamilton and Harrison in particular, were scarcely in any degree his amanuenses . . . at headquarters one day, at Valley Forge, Col. Harrison came down from the General's chamber, with his brow knit, and thus accosted me, "I wish to the Lord the General would give me the heads or some idea, of what he would have me write."²⁷

While military secretary Harrison was constantly associated with other outstanding young men who were also on the staff. Among them were Alexander Contee Hanson, James McHenry and Tench Tilghman, all from Maryland, and Richard K. Meade of Virginia. It was Tilghman who said the "Weight of his [Washington's] Business falls upon Mr. Harrison and myself, but as he [Harrison] is often troubled with a most painful disorder I then work double tides."²⁸ To this group came "Alexander Hamilton. Col. Robert Hanson Harrison, more devoted to his chief than all the others put together, had a great capacity for friendship, and hovered over Hamilton protectingly. The 'old secretary' as he [Harrison] was always called, dubbed the new colleague 'the little lion'."²⁹

That Washington placed great dependence in the secretary and delegated to him many tasks of importance is well illustrated by the following letter to Harrison from Morristown in the trying winter of 1777:

²³ *Writings of Washington*, J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., IV, 104. Some authorities use the word 'clear' and some 'clever.'

²⁴ Ford, IV, 84, citing *Orderly book*, 16 May, 1776; Heitman, 211.

²⁵ *Writings of George Washington*, Jared Sparks, ed., III, 136; H. L. Carson, *History of the United States Supreme Court*, I, 146, also says he was a special friend of Washington.

²⁶ Charles W. Upham, *Life of Timothy Pickering*, IV, 488.

²⁷ Paul L. Ford, *George Washington*, 66.

²⁸ Samuel Harrison, *Memoir of Lt. Col. Tench Tilghman*, 26.

²⁹ David Loth, *Alexander Hamilton*, 75.

. . . I beg of you to consult, and in my name advise and direct such measures as shall appear most effectual to stop the progress of the Small pox; when I recall to mind the unhappy situation of our Northern army last year I shudder at the consequence of this disorder if some vigorous steps are not taken to stop the spreading of it. Vigorous measures must be adopted (however disagreeable and inconvenient to Individuals) to remove the Infected and Infection before we feel too sensibly the effects. . . . I wish to Heaven the expected reinforcements were joind. (under the rose I say it) My situation with respect to numbers is more distressing than it has ever been yet; and at a time when the Enemy are Assembling their Force from all Quarters no doubt with a view either to Rout this Army or to move toward Philadelphia as I cannot suppose them so much uninformed of our strength as to believe they are acting upon a Defensive Plan at this hour.³⁰

In a letter of October 17, 1777 to Richard Henry Lee, Washington discussed the proposed reorganization of the Board of War, and in reply, the former stated that it was proposed that the new members should be Colonels Reed, Pickering and Lieut.-Colonel Harrison. But Lee's prediction failed. To the Board were appointed Mifflin, Pickering and Harrison, but the plottings of those then in control being well known, and some of the associations not deemed desirable, Harrison refused the doubtful honor.³¹

As a member of Washington's official family Harrison saw much action. On August 27, 1776, at Long Island, his distress at writing of the unfortunate results was somewhat assuaged, perhaps, by the high honors won by General Smallwood and his Maryland Brigade.³² He was at Chatterton's Hill, and after the retreat from the Brandywine it is said he was so exhausted and so distressed by the turn of events that General Pickering had to write the routine dispatch.³³

When confusion developed out of retreat at Monmouth, Harrison pressed to the front in a vain effort to stem the tide of the rout caused by the disobedience of the ex-British officer, General Charles Lee. As the men streamed by, "fleeing from a shadow,"³⁴ the Marylander met Mercer, Lee's aide, and asked, "For God's sake, what is the cause of this retreat?" When Mercer replied, "If you will proceed you will see several columns of foot and horse," Harrison retorted, "We came to that field to meet columns of foot and horse."³⁵

At the subsequent courtmartial of Lee, Harrison was one of the chief witnesses before the military tribunal which rendered a verdict

³⁰ Fitzpatrick, *Writings*, VII, 37.

³¹ Sparks, V, 97, 99, 194; Ford, VI, 121, 124, 254, 255; Upham, I, 183, 188; for discussion of the Board see John Fiske, *The American Revolution*, II, 36 *et seq.*

³² Sparks, IV, 68, 513 and for tribute to the Maryland Brigade see Fiske, I, 209.

³³ Whiteley, 52.

³⁴ H. B. Carrington, *Battles of the Revolution*, 439.

³⁵ Rupert Hughes, *George Washington*, 368.

of guilty of disobedience, misbehavior and disrespect for the Commander-in-chief.³⁶ When Lee later attempted to stir anew the opposition to Washington by making false accusations, it was seen that again the young men of the staff would have to come to the assistance of their beloved Chief. Laurens urged Hamilton to take up his "Junius" pen and the latter suggested that they enlist the help of the "Old Secretary," for he knew only too well the earlier plot.³⁷

One of the very difficult problems confronting the warring armies was the exchange of prisoners. The working out of these details was turned over to Washington who assigned to Harrison the task of meeting with British officers—of not less than equal rank—to negotiate an agreement. That this was no easy assignment is shown by the fact that a number of conferences were held by the representatives from 1777 until the spring of 1779. Harrison frequently worked with Hamilton, Elias Boudinot, William Grayson and others.

At one meeting the British officer, Col. Walcott, handed Harrison a letter in which it was said that Washington's desires were, "groundless, unprecedented and inconsistent with any degree of reason and common sense." The Marylander was so incensed that he would not accept the message.³⁸

For at least part of the year 1779 Harrison was not in camp but was in Baltimore, engaged in pursuits not entirely military. On Feb. 16, 1779, Samuel Smith (later General), writing from Baltimore Town to Otho Holland Williams, in camp with the 6th Maryland Regiment, said that Col. Harrison was in town, "paying unsuccessful but exceedingly assiduous court to 'Miss N. B.'"³⁹ What a shame for the purposes of history that General Smith was so chivalrous! Apparently "unsuccessful court" was correct for no record of Harrison's marriage to "Miss N. B." or any other lady has been found.

Harrison must have become discouraged, or else his leave was up for on March 16, Smith mentioned in another letter that the Colonel was about to leave town.

III

In the fall of 1780 Alexander Hamilton, anxious for a leave of absence in order that he might visit the attractive Elizabeth Schuyler, was forced to forego that pleasure because both Harrison and Meade were away from headquarters. The latter had gone south in October "for business and for love" and Harrison had journeyed with him

³⁶ Lee Papers, in *The New York Historical Society Collections*, VI, 69.

³⁷ Whiteley, 78.

³⁸ Sparks, IV, 381; Ford, V, 312.

³⁹ "Calendar of Otho Holland Williams Papers," by Dr. Elizabeth Merritt in *Maryland Historical Society*.

at least as far as Philadelphia.⁴⁰ A good idea of the economic condition of the times may be had from the fact that, in the depreciated currency of the day, the jaunt seems to have cost them \$3,628.00.⁴¹

This trip was not a pleasant one for the Marylander, for he was returning home because of the death of his father. In November, 1780, letters testamentary were granted to Robert Hanson Harrison, William Harrison and Walter Hanson Harrison on the estate of Richard Harrison. The will was dated July 19, 1776 and devised among other things "all his lands . . . [to] be equally divided betwixt his three well beloved sons Robert, William and Walter . . ."⁴²

By indenture dated March 1, 1781, the brothers divided the property, substantially as was previously set forth.⁴³ Robert received Cow Spring, Pittsylvania Stone's Resurvey, Dover Clifts and part of Watson's purchase.

It might well be imagined that Washington feared that the death of the father would take from him the services of his much needed secretary. As the eldest of the family, and as a lawyer, most of the responsibility of the supervision of family affairs would naturally devolve upon Robert.

As early as January 23, 1776, Washington had written to Reed that "Mr. Harrison is the only gentleman of my family that can offer me the least assistance in writing" and that he would be "distressed beyond measure" to lose him.⁴⁴ It had been no easy task in the first place for him to leave his daughters who were at the age when they needed his care and affection. However, after remaining at home for a while Harrison did return to the side of his Chief, but certainly with the idea of resigning.

By March, 1781, a vacancy had arisen in the position of Chief Judge of the General Court of Maryland, and the Governor's Council⁴⁵ appointed Harrison "in the room of William Paca, resigned."⁴⁶ The appointment must have been very gratifying to Harrison, not only because of the high honor, but because of the certain income as well as the fact that his presence at home would enable him to attempt the repair of his desperate personal affairs.

Accordingly, Harrison tendered his resignation and withdrew from

⁴⁰ Ralph E. Bailey, *An American Colossus*, 94,

⁴¹ Whiteley, 135.

⁴² Register of Wills' Office, Charles County; see also Land Records, Liber V, No. 3, folio 516. These show that Richard Harrison had a third wife, Elizabeth, who died Nov. 25, 1780. It appears that she was a daughter of George Dent of Charles Co.

⁴³ Land record already cited.

⁴⁴ Sparks, III, 257.

⁴⁵ Governor's Council was composed of John H. Stone, Jeremiah T. Chase, James Brice, Daniel Carroll and Samuel T. Wright.

⁴⁶ *Maryland Reports*, 2 Harris and McHenry.

the official family, a difficult step after the long years of service. Some idea of his great feeling may be seen in his letter of March 26, 1781, to Alexander Hamilton from New Windsor, N. Y. He said:

I came here, my dear Hamilton, on Friday night, to bid adieu to the General, to you, and to my other friends as a military man, and regret much that I have not had the happiness of seeing you. Tomorrow I am obliged to depart; and it is possible our separation may be forever. But be this as it may, it can only be with respect to our persons; for as to affection, mine for you will continue to my latest breath. This event will probably surprise you; but from your knowledge of me, I rely you will conclude, at the instant, that no light considerations would have taken me from the army; and, I think I might safely have rested the matter here. However, as the friendship between us gives you a claim to something more, and as I am not indifferent about character, and shall be anxious to have the esteem of all who are good, and virtuously great, I shall detail to you, my friend, the more substantial reasons which have led to my present conduct. I go from the army, then, because I have found, on examination, that my little fortune, earned by an honest and hard industry, was becoming embarrassed—to attend to the education of my children—to provide if possible, for the payment of a considerable sum of sterling money and interest, with which I stand charged, on account of the land I lately received from my honored father, for equality of partition between myself and two brothers—to save a house which he had begun, and which, without instant attention, would be ruined, or at least greatly injured—to provide, if possible, for the payment of goods, which far exceed any profits I can make from my estate—and because the State of Maryland, in a flattering manner, have been pleased to appoint me to a place, very respectable in its nature, corresponding with my former and very interesting to my whole future life and support. They have appointed me to the Chair of their Supreme Court.⁴⁷ These, my friends, are the motives to my present resolution. My own feelings are satisfied on the occasion, though I cannot but regret parting with the most valuable acquaintances I have; and I hope they will justify me most fully to you, my Hamilton, especially when you consider, besides, the time I have been in the service, and the compensation I have received. . . . Adieu.

Yours, in haste, most affectionately,

Robt. H. Harrison.⁴⁸

The Maryland Constitution of 1776 had set up a Judicial Department composed of the General Court, Court of Chancery, Court of Admiralty and Court of Appeals. The first superseded the old Provincial Court and had original jurisdiction in both civil and criminal matters on both the Eastern and Western Shores and of which Chief Justice Taney once said that its judges were selected from among the

⁴⁷ This is incorrect for there was no such court. What is meant is the General Court and error probably arose in copying Harrison's original letter. This mistake has appeared many times.

⁴⁸ *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, John C. Hamilton, ed., I, 215; But see Upham, IV, 489, where Harrison is said to have been in ill health.

most eminent members of the Bar. It is interesting to note that four of the five Marylanders appointed to the United States Supreme Court have come from its bench rather than from that of the Court of Appeals.⁴⁹

It was to this court, before the bar of which resounded the brilliant and persuasive oratory of Samuel Chase, William Pinkney, John B. Bordley, Roger B. Taney and Gabriel Duval and many others, that Harrison now came to preside with Nicholas Thomas and Alexander Contee Hanson as associate judges. Before them on behalf of the State often appeared as attorney-general, the acknowledged leader of the legal profession in Maryland, Luther Martin.

Early in his judicial career, May term, 1781, before the court were presented many prominent persons on the charge of treason. Among them were many clergymen and such familiar family names as Addison, Boucher, Dulany (three of them) Key, Gordon, Allen and others, appeared on the docket because of suspected loyalty to Great Britain. In the May term, 1782, most of the actions were struck off but not until after the confiscation of a great amount of property.⁵⁰

That the judges in those days could well attend to their private affairs due to the relatively small amount of litigation may be easily understood when it is found that the cases reported in the General Court and the Court of Appeals from May 1780 to May 1790 fill but one volume of *Reports*, 2 Harris and McHenry. It is with no little interest that one may glance through that volume and read opinions by Chief Judge Harrison, and note here and there a dissent by him.

The position on the Bench did not require Harrison's withdrawal from other phases of public life, nor was he forgotten by his friends in Virginia, for we note that in a joint resolution of the Virginia General Assembly dated June 14, 1782, "the Honorable Robert Hanson Harrison be requested to inform the Legislature and Executive of Maryland, that this Assembly has received with much cordiality and pleasure the very friendly invitation of Maryland to join our marine forces for the defense of the commerce of Chesapeake Bay and its Dependencies. . . ." ⁵¹

When the territorial controversy between Massachusetts and New York arose the agents of the two states agreed upon a commission to consider their relative claims. Harrison was selected as one of the members; the others were Thomas Johnson, also of Maryland, John Rutledge of South Carolina, George Wythe, Wm. Grayson and

⁴⁹ Carroll T. Bond, *The Court of Appeals of Maryland, A History*, 89.

⁵⁰ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VI, 162; XIII, 153.

⁵¹ *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III, 192.

James Monroe, of Virginia, George Read of Delaware, Isaac Smith and William Paterson of New Jersey.⁵² In 1785 a vacancy in the position of minister to the Hague arose and Monroe wrote to both Jefferson and Madison that those considered for the appointment were John Rutledge, Governor Livingston of New Jersey and Robert Hanson Harrison. Rutledge was chosen although he later declined to serve.⁵³

That Harrison was not forgotten by friends whom he had not seen for considerable time is shown in the letter from John Jay to Washington in 1781, from Madrid, in which he referred to a Mr. Harrison he had met in Cadiz, "a very worthy kinsman of your secretary" with the request that when Washington wrote to "Your honest friend, Col. Harrison, remember me to him."⁵⁴

But Robert Hanson was not the only one of the Harrison men to be in public life for his brother William was a member of Congress from Maryland from 1785 to 1787. His other brother, Walter Hanson, was elected rector of Durham Parish, Oct. 29, 1779.⁵⁵

In Harrison's term of service from 1781 to 1790 he was associated on the bench with such other judges as Robert Goldsborough, Jr., and Jeremiah Townley Chase. It is interesting to find the Council making appropriations in varying sums of money, bushels of wheat and other modes of compensation to "Hon. Robert Hanson Harrison" for payment of salary—often "on account last year's salary."⁵⁶ Apparently budget balancing is not a new difficulty!

The Chief Judge was not a man to forget old allegiances, nor did his loyalty fade, for upon the surrender of Cornwallis he was one of the first to write and congratulate his old commander who, on November 18, 1781, replied. After expressing his hope of seeing Harrison and inviting him to come to Mt. Vernon, the General continued:

I thank you for your kind Congratulations on the Capitulation of Cornwallis. It is an interesting event and may be productive of much good if properly improved, but if it should be the means of relaxation, and sink us into supineness and security, it had better not have happened. Great Britain for some time past has been encouraged by the impolicy of our conduct to continue the War and should there be interference of European Politicks in her favour, peace may be further removed from us than we expect, while one

⁵² *Writings of James Monroe*, Stanislaus M. Hamilton, ed., I, 66.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 70, 75.

⁵⁴ Henry P. Johnston, *Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay*, II, 9.

⁵⁵ Vestry Records, Durham Church, at Library of Congress. Copy at Maryland Historical Society.

⁵⁶ Kilty, *Laws of Maryland*, Ch. 12, 1783; *Archives of Maryland*, XLVIII, 171, 316, 452, etc.

thing we are sure of and that is, that the only certain way to obtain Peace is to be prepared for War. Policy, Interest, Economy, all unite to stimulate the States to fill the Continental Battalions and provided the means of supporting them. I hope the present favourable moment for doing it will not be neglected.⁵⁷

Throughout the years from 1785 to 1788 we find notations in Washington's diaries mentioning among his many visitors the name of Col. Harrison. Sometimes he came alone, sometimes with other distinguished personages; some of his visits were for a few days, others apparently for but a few hours. Not only did the Judge visit Mt. Vernon, but so did at least one of his daughters. On Friday, April 15, 1785, we find the entry that Col. John Allison and Miss Harrison came in the evening and left for Alexandria after dinner the next day.

In December of 1786 the Maryland legislature voted to participate in the Philadelphia convention to meet on May 14, 1787, for the purpose of strengthening the Articles of Confederation. (It is to be remembered that out of that great meeting came our Federal Constitution.) At a special session on April 10, 1787, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Thomas Sim Lee, James McHenry, Thomas Stone and Robert H. Harrison were selected as the representatives. This appointment Harrison did not accept, nor did most of the others, for the final delegation was composed of James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll, John Francis Mercer and Luther Martin.

When Congress met on April 6, 1789, to count the electoral votes, it was found that all of Maryland's electors, voting for this purpose for the first time in historic Annapolis, had cast their votes for George Washington for president and for Robert Hanson Harrison for vice-president.⁵⁸

IV

In September of this year, Congress adopted the Judiciary Act which provided for the organization of the Supreme Court with six members and the Federal Circuit and District Courts. When the newly inaugurated Washington sent his nominations to the Senate for confirmation, John Jay was found to have been selected as Chief Justice, and with such notable Associate Justices as James Wilson,

⁵⁷ Fitzpatrick, *Writings*, XXIII, 351-352.

⁵⁸ Carson, I, 146; John Bach McMaster, *A History of the United States*, I, 535. Washington was unanimously elected with 69 votes. For Vice President, John Adams received 34, John Jay, 9, Harrison and Rutledge each 6, John Hancock, 4, George Clinton, 3, John Milton and Samuel Huntington each 2, and James Armstrong, Edward Telfair and Benjamin Lincoln one each.

John Rutledge, John Blair and William Cushing⁵⁹ was found the name of his former military secretary, Robert Hanson Harrison of Maryland. By this last selection the President was able to pay tribute to a personal friendship and at the same time try to draw to the public service one well qualified to execute such a trust,⁶⁰ for Harrison not only stood high in the esteem of his fellow citizens but was a man of distinguished talents. That Washington was not alone in considering Harrison a man for the Court is shown by the fact that on September 1, 1789, one using the name *Civis* wrote the new President that he was opposed to the selection of Alexander Hamilton as the Chief Justice, if such an appointment were considered, but expressed the hope that the choice would fall upon Robert Hanson Harrison for he was "the best man in the Union for the head of the Judiciary, best calculated to inspire confidence and love among our people . . . though from his retired habits not so well known throughout America as many men of high character who perhaps are not near so perfect . . . his virtues and character are not hidden from the impartial President of the United States."⁶¹

It is significant that at the time of making the appointments to the Court, Washington wrote but two of those whom he had selected, John Rutledge and Harrison. He was personally interested in the latter and on September 28, 1789, wrote:

Your friends and your fellow citizens, anxious for the respect of the Court to which you are appointed, will be happy to learn your acceptance, and no one among them will be more so than myself.⁶²

While Harrison apparently did not yearn for high office, it is also possible that ill health had a part in his decision to reject the appointment.

This declination was a matter of much regret to Washington, who on the 25th of November, 1789, wrote Harrison from New York, saying that he felt one reason for the refusal was that the Judiciary Act would remain unaltered. The President pointed out that a change was contemplated, which if enacted, would permit him to pay as much attention to his private affairs as did his present station. Since the Court would not sit until February, he again forwarded the commission, "not for the sake of urging you to accept it contrary

⁵⁹ Jay was from New York, the others were respectively from, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Virginia and Massachusetts. Frank Monaghan, *John Jay*, 303, says Rutledge, Harrison, Wilson and Robert Livingston of New York were urged for the positions by interested friends.

⁶⁰ Sparks, X, 53; Scharf, II, 560.

⁶¹ Charles Warren, *The Supreme Court in United States History*, I, 35.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 42.

to your interest or convenience, but with a view of giving you a farther opportunity of informing yourself of the nature and probability of the change alluded to." He suggested that if Harrison could come to New York when the Congress assembled and associate with the members he could ascertain this with less risk of mistake before it became necessary to fill the office proffered. In any event, Harrison could send the commission back without much trouble if his "determination was absolutely fixed." He did not mean to embarrass Harrison and he would be "satisfied with whatever determination may be consonant with your best judgment and most agreeable to yourself."⁶³

On November 30th, Washington wrote Dr. McHenry that he had returned the commission to Harrison with the hope that further consideration might result in the latter's acceptance. The President enlisted the help of Hamilton who then brought pressure to bear. (One may recall Harrison's letter to him on leaving the service). Hamilton wrote on November 27, 1789:

After having labored with you in the common cause of America during the late war, and having learned your value, judge of the pleasure I feel in the prospect of a reunion of efforts in this same cause; for I consider this business of America's happiness as yet to be done. In proportion to that sentiment has been my disappointment at learning that you had declined a seat on the Bench of the United States. Cannot your determination, my dear friend, be reconsidered? One of your objections, I think, will be removed; I mean that which relates to the nature of the establishment. Many concur in opinion that its present form is inconvenient, if not impracticable. Should an alteration take place, your other objection will also be removed, for you can then be nearly as much at home as you are now. If it is possible, my dear Harrison, give yourself to us. We want men like you. They are rare at all times.⁶⁴

This matter must have been one of great anxiety for Harrison. He wanted to be at home, and from the fact that he was absent from the sessions of the Court with much frequency in 1790, and for other reasons to appear, we may safely conclude that he was by no means in good health. However, it seems that he did reconsider. Perhaps with some misgivings, he set out for New York on the 14th of January. But nature intervened. From "Bladensburgh," on January 21, 1790, he wrote to Washington:

My Dear Sir:

I left home on the 14th inst. with a view of making a journey to New York, and after being several days detained at Alexandria by indisposition

⁶³ Sparks, X, 53.

⁶⁴ *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, Henry C. Lodge, ed., IX, 464.

came thus far on the way. I now unhappily find myself in such a situation as not to be able to proceed farther. From this unfortunate event, and the apprehension that my indisposition may continue, I pray you to consider that I cannot accept the appointment of Associate Judge, with which I have been honored. What I do my dear Sir, is the result of the most painful and distressing necessity.

I entreat that you will receive the warmest returns of my gratitude for the distinguished proofs I have had of your flattering and invaluable esteem and confidence, and that you will believe that I am and shall always remain, with the most affectionate attachment, my dear Sir,

Your most obedient and obliged friend and servant.

Robert H. Harrison.

The President of the United States.⁶⁵

The sincerity, the dignity, and the pathos in this letter, are as moving today as they must have been so long ago to its recipient. James Iredell of North Carolina was appointed to fill the vacancy.

While the negotiations concerning the appointment to the Supreme Court were pending, Harrison, on Oct. 1, 1789, was named Chancellor of the State of Maryland to succeed John Rogers who had recently died. This was one of the highest judicial offices in the State, and one which any ambitious or successful lawyer would desire. But the duties of the office required his presence in Annapolis while private and other matters needed his attention at home; he was not anxious for fame nor for high position, and for reasons of health he preferred the peace and quietude of his estate by the waters of the Potomac to the more active life of the State capital. In a letter to Governor John Eager Howard, October 3, 1789, he declined this further recognition.⁶⁶

Annapolis Octob 3d. 1789

Sir,

I received yesterday, when returning from the Eastern Shore Gen Court, the letter which your Excellency did me the honor to write on the 1st Instant, acquainting me that I had by the unanimous vote of the Council been elected Chancellor of the State, in the room of the Hon^{ble} Mr. Rogers deceased, and expressing that they wished to be early informed, whether I should accept the appointment.

As the administration of Justice and the duties of the office would necessarily require my immediate residence at Annapolis, and the practicability of this would depend on some previous indispensable arrangements in my own affairs, & the affairs of others in my hands, where I at present reside, which might not be accomplished, in a convenient time, I must beg leave to decline the appointment.

Your Excellency & the Hon^{ble} Board will permit me to add, that I feel

⁶⁵ *New York Times*, August 26, 1923, Sec. VII, p. 8: "Dusty Package on Capitol Shelf Held Priceless Historic Letters" (with portrait of Harrison).

⁶⁶ Photostatic copy in possession of Hon. Carroll T. Bond.

very sensibly this distinguishing mark of their approbation & confidence in my conduct, & that they have my warmest acknowledgements for it.

I have the honor to be
with the highest respect
Your Excellency's
Most Obed^t Servant
Rob : H : Harrison

His Exc^y Gov^r Howard.

Shortly after these proffered honors had been declined Harrison died at his home on the Potomac, some twenty miles from Port Tobacco, April 2, 1790. Two months later Washington wrote to Lafayette, "Poor Col. Harrison who was appointed one of the associate judges of the Supreme Court and declined is lately dead."⁶⁷

The *Maryland Gazette* of April 8, 1790, carried the notice:

Port Tobacco, Apr. 5, 1790

Died, on the second instant, at his seat on Potowmack River, in Charles County, in the forty-fifth year of his age, the honourable ROBERT HANSON HARRISON, Esquire, chief judge of the general court of the state of Maryland.

The transcendent merit of this great and excellent man need not the aid of panegyric—in civil and military life his conduct was uniformly such as will render his memory dear to every good citizen.—While he served the United States in the late war, his exertions, in the high and confidential office he held, were strenuous and unremitted—and the ability, the integrity, and the assiduity which he displayed in the administration of justice may, perhaps be equalled, they never can be exceeded.

It may be added, with justice, that no man was more eminently distinguished by the possession of every social virtue.

These qualifications make his death a calamity to the public, and an irreparable loss to his amiable and disconsolate family.

Lament, O Maryland! thy loss deplore;
Thy virtuous Harrison is now no more!
And you, who steady fortitude admire;
And you, who's bosom feels fair Virtue's fire;
And you, to whom each social merit's dear,
Drop o'er these lines a tributary tear;
For each lov'd attribute his soul possess'd,
And now in Heaven enjoys eternal rest.⁶⁸

It does not appear from available records that Harrison left a will, so it is very difficult to determine whether or not he was a man of means. The efforts put forth by his heirs over a period of years for

⁶⁷ Sparks, X, 92; Ford, XI, 481.

⁶⁸ *Maryland Gazette*, April 8, 1790. Microfilm copy at Enoch Pratt Free Library.

pensions for his military services might indicate that his fortunes never recovered from the neglect of the war period. The granting of pensions either in money or by land bounty was quite general. It is highly possible that Harrison was not paid for all of his years of service, and even if he were, it was in much depreciated currency.

V

Before examining the milestones of the many years' struggle by Sarah Easton and Dorothy Storer, his daughters, for compensation for their father's military activities, it might be added that Harrison apparently did not take a discharge when he left the army. Possibly he did not care to ask or accept it from such a close friend as his admired Commander. Perhaps he merely resigned as Washington's secretary and left the field of operations for home but retained his rank out of loyalty which forbade his asking a formal discharge.

In a letter from James Monroe in 1812, apparently written in support of a claim for a grant by the State of Virginia for Harrison's heirs, the then Secretary of State said that Harrison "served in his station with as pure and unsullied a fame as any person ever enjoyed." He added that Harrison was often exposed to danger, that he was highly respected in the councils of war and was a faithful depository of the councils of the General, of the confidential communications to him from Congress, of the military movements to be made and of all the secret councils, on the preservation of which the success of the army and the revolution itself depended. "He was a most virtuous, able and active agent in promoting every measure that was decided upon." He went on to say that Harrison's constitution received a severe shock as a result of his military services, from which, although he was the "Chief Justice" of Maryland, he was too far exhausted to permit him to enter the office of Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

As to the matter of compensation Harrison received, Monroe was able to say but little but he had no doubt he had received nothing more than his regular pay by the month, depreciated as it was when received. "He was among the most diffident of men and the last to set up a pretention or make any claim for his services."

Monroe further added that he was on the same footing he himself had been when he acted as aide-de-camp to Lord Stirling, and from the point of actual field service did not serve in the Virginia Line for Lord Sterling had commanded troops from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, yet the State of Virginia, "regarding the service,

made me [Monroe] the same allowance in land and depreciation of pay as if I remained in the Line of the State."⁶⁹

Apparently the above efforts were, at least for the time being, not fruitful, for we find the Marquis de Lafayette, writing on behalf of the Harrison family from La Grange, his home in France, on October 28, 1821:

Dear Sir:

I was lately in town, when I had the Honour to Receive Your Much Esteemed Letter, and Hasten to forward my answer with the paper of which the enclosed is a duplicate. I hope it will arrive in time, and Beg you to accept my thanks for the opportunity you Have given me to express affectionate Remembrances. Happy indeed I would be to flatter myself that I Have, in some degree, contributed to the success of the wishes of a family, to whom I shall ever think myself Bound By the ties of High Regard and tender friendship, which united me to my dear Companion in Arms and patriotism, Colonel Harrison. I beg you to receive and present to the other members of the family my Sincere and affectionate regard.

Lafayette.

At the foot is a penned note:

I know that the above is in the handwriting of Major General La Fayette.

James Monroe.

Washington, January 4, 1822.

Of the exalted merit of Colonel Harrison, and his long and faithful services, I have already borne, from my own personal knowledge, ample testimony.

James Monroe.⁷⁰

Evidently the old associate, now the President of the United States, was still interested in the welfare of the family of the man of whose services he was able to speak so highly.

On January 14, 1822, David Easton (Sarah's husband) wrote James Madison that he desired positive evidence that Colonel Harrison who had retired from the service in 1781 because of ill health, had done so on a furlough. He said that the papers (Harrison's?) had been lost and that knowledge of the situation at the time of the Colonel's leaving the service would be of assistance to the daughters in establishing their claim to compensation.⁷¹

Again in 1825 the assistance of the old Marquis now in America, was called for. In a letter to Mr. Easton, Lafayette wrote:

Washington, 9 January 1825

Dear Sir

I am thankful to acknowledge your letter of yesterday, as it associates me to the very interesting concerns of Col. Harrison's daughters and gives me the

⁶⁹ *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, X, 170.

⁷⁰ *New York Times*, August 26, 1923. ⁷¹ *Calendar of James Madison Papers*, 281.

opportunity to discharge a duty incumbent on the only survivor of General Washington's military family in the times to which you allude.

On my first joining headquarters early in 1777 I found Col. Robert Harrison acting as the intimate friend, the first aid de camp and Secretary of the Commander in Chief, whose confidence has proved most useful to General Washington, to the army, to the country and the cause. Admitted as I was myself to the family, not only while I lived at Head Quarters, but since I was entrusted with the command consistent with my rank as Major General I have had continual and peculiar opportunities to witness the great and daily services rendered by Col. Harrison; the trust General Washington reposed in him; the high esteem the tender attachment which Col. Harrison reciprocated, by the most affectionate devotion to his bosom friend, the Commander-in-Chief and by the incessant and very able exertions of his zeal in the military and political business of headquarters—as much was to be done by correspondence with Congress and influential men in the several States.

Under the circumstances and tho' I have not materially seen Col. Harrison's furlough—I have every reason to be convinced—that neither he would have asked, nor the Commander in Chief would have given, a final discharge from his attendance as a confidential friend aid de camp and Secretary—at Head Quarters. The same feelings which prevented Col. Harrison from accepting or wishing any promotion inconsistent with the duties and usefulness of that station, would in that instance have operated upon him: Nor have I ever at that time admitted the idea that Col. Harrison's absence on account of his health, incapacitated him from resuming his military situation, at head quarters, as soon as his recovery would have permitted it, if requested.

One observation I beg leave to add. It is founded not only on the sentiments of my respect for the character, gratitude for the services and brotherly affection for the person of Col. Harrison but positively on my knowledge of General Washington's feelings towards him—that is—that no private concern would (sic) have more warmly interested our paternal friend and Commander in Chief than whatever relates to the memory and family of Col. Harrison.

I think my dear Sir, I have briefly answered your queries, and request you to accept the expression of my sincere regard.

(Signed) Lafayette ⁷²

When it is considered that at this time Lafayette was 68 years old it is apparent how deep his feeling must have been, and how firmly he must have been imbued with regard for Harrison, to so ardently and anxiously aid his daughters in their struggle.

That the struggle must have been waged on many fronts and in several causes is shown by the fact that on March 2, 1827, the General Assembly of Maryland directed the payment "to Dorothy Storer, of the District of Columbia . . . during her life, in half yearly payments, the one-half pay of a captain, as a further remuneration for her late husband's services during the revolutionary war." ⁷³

⁷² Copy in Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Original not located.

⁷³ *Laws*, 1825-1826, Resolution No. 33.

From the fact that on January 27, 1836, the General Assembly ordered the payment "to Sarah Easton, who was the widow of Capt. John Jordon, quarterly payments during her life a sum of money equal to the half pay of a Captain in consideration of the services rendered by her said husband during the revolutionary war,"⁷⁴ it appears that the Mr. Easton who had shown his interest in securing the rights of the Harrison daughters by writing to Monroe and Lafayette (and perhaps others) was the second husband of the elder daughter.

Although Harrison was in Washington's special service and not in command of, or association with, Virginia troops, he was nevertheless carried on the roll of officers of the Old Dominion State as a colonel of the Virginia Line.⁷⁵ It was because of this fact that the following letter, apparently in the nature of a petition or in corroboration of one already filed, was addressed to Governor Tazewell of Virginia:

That the undersigned respectfully call your attention to the fact that their father, Robert Harrison, entered the service in the Fall of the year 1775, as a Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, General Washington, and was by Congress on 5th of June appointed a Lieutenant Colonel in which capacity he continued to the close of the war;⁷⁶ that he survived but a few years after the Revolution.

It appears that the heirs had received a warrant for his services⁷⁷ "not exceeding six years," but as it was claimed that he had served more than six years, they sought additional bounty for 1500 or more acres. The petition was signed by Sarah Easton and Dorothy M. Storer. That the State was none too prompt to act is proved by the fact that not until May 16, 1838, were the heirs allowed land bounty for Harrison's service as a lieutenant-colonel of the Continental Line from October, 1775, to November, 1783.⁷⁸

Finally, after how many petitions or applications we do not know, Maryland likewise undertook to compensate the family. On March 11, 1840, the General Assembly authorized the payment to Sarah Easton and Dorothy Storer of a sum equal to three years' half pay as an aide-de-camp to the commander-in-chief.⁷⁹

And so, to the best of our knowledge, the fight was over—and won.

Most of the Maryland men of prominence in the Revolution seem to have left behind, or the public has erected for them, some visible

⁷⁴ *Laws*, 1835-1836, Resolution 26.

⁷⁵ *Virginia Magazine*, II, 243.

⁷⁶ Louis A. Burgess, *Virginia Soldiers of 1776*, 157.

⁷⁷ Gaius M. Brumbaugh, *Revolutionary War Records*, I, 100. They had received a warrant for 600 acres on Feb. 3, 1817.

⁷⁸ Burgess, 157.

⁷⁹ *Laws*, 1839-40, Resolution No. 28.

reminder of their contribution to the Nation, but this is not so with Robert Hanson Harrison. No one is certain where he lived, or where he is buried, and the moldering hand of time has effaced all intimate knowledge of him.

There has been much speculation as to the place of his burial, but it seems probable that it is Walnut Landing, near his mother's grave on his father's estate, or in the churchyard of Durham Parish where his brother was rector. Some believe that it is the old Episcopal church cemetery of Port Tobacco. Long ago this burying ground was covered with silt as Port Tobacco Creek filled up so that no grave or stone is now visible.

How wrong was the chronicler of the *Maryland Gazette* when, in his laudation he said: "His conduct was uniformly such as will render his memory dear to every good citizen." Before many years had passed the memory of this sincere, able and willing young man of Maryland was as obscure as his grave. That he is today "a lost man" is no tribute to the State which has permitted 'Melancholy to mark him for her own.'

BOOKS OWNED BY MARYLANDERS, 1700-1776

By JOSEPH TOWNE WHEELER

In a survey of literary culture the most interesting and the most significant facts are those which reveal the proportion of the population which owned books and the types of books which were most popular. The best sources of information about the personal belongings of individuals living in colonial Maryland, including the books they owned, are the inventories of estates. These documents contain a record of inhabitants irrespective of their social position and should be one of the primary sources of social history. The Maryland inventory ledgers dating from 1674 and supplemented by the county inventory records are practically complete to the present day and afford a unique opportunity to study the personal property of Marylanders for over two hundred and fifty years.¹

The act of 1715, which was the basis for the administration of estates in Maryland during the later colonial period, required all executors and administrators to make an inventory within three months in the presence of two creditors of the deceased and his two closest relatives. The inventory was then submitted to a deputy in the county where it was recorded, and a copy was transmitted to the Commissary General at Annapolis who also recorded it.²

The following table has been compiled from the inventory records from the counties in both the Tide-Water and the Piedmont regions as recorded by the Commissary General at the Land Office. It shows the proportion of these inventories containing books and the approximate size of the collections. The figures presented in it are conservative estimates of book ownership because, while the appraisers might easily overlook stray volumes, they would not, especially while under oath and in the presence of heirs and creditors, list books which were not there. The form for the table was developed by Dr. Clifford K. Shipton in his study of the seventeenth-century records of Essex and Middlesex Counties which was incorporated in Samuel Eliot

¹ The ledgers kept by the deputy commissaries in the counties have in some cases been lost or destroyed by fire, but most of the material in them is recorded in the Inventory libers at the Hall of Records in Annapolis. After the Revolution all of the records were kept at the county seats.

² See Elie Vallette, *Deputy Commissary's Guide Within the Province of Maryland*, Annapolis, 1774. The rules for drawing up an inventory will be found on pages 12-23.

Morison's *Puritan Pronaos*.³ It is supplemented by additional tables compiled from all the inventories recorded by the deputy commissioners in Baltimore County and Talbot County during the eighteenth century.

BOOKS OWNED BY MARYLANDERS 1720-1770

As listed in estates taken at ten year intervals

Year	Number of estates	Number Containing Books				Percentage		
		Bibles only	Less Than 10 or parcel	Ten to 20	Over 20	Having books	Only Bible	Less Than 10
1720	109	6	44	4	3	52	10	77
1730	164	8	62	5	3	47	10	79
1740	241	46	88	5	4	59	32	61
1750	248	23	105	4	4	55	16	77
1760	220	24	103	7	3	62	18	75
1770	235	25	115	6	6	64	16	75
1720-70	1217	132	517	31	23	58	18	73

BOOKS OWNED IN BALTIMORE COUNTY 1690-1776

Year	Number of estates	Number Containing Books				Percentage		
		Bibles only	Less Than 10 or parcel	Ten to 20	Over 20	Having books	Only Bible	Less Than 10
1690-1776	1313	230	600	25	24	67	18	68

BOOKS OWNED IN TALBOT COUNTY 1685-1776

Year	Number of estates	Number Containing Books				Percentage		
		Bibles only	Less Than 10 or parcel	Ten to 20	Over 20	Having books	Only Bible	Less Than 10
1685-1776	1283	98	565	25	17	54	14	81

These tables reveal the significant fact that nearly sixty percent of the inventories analyzed contained books and about one-fifth of this number contained only a Bible or a Common Prayer Book or both. Three-quarters of the inventories mentioning books contained less than ten titles or an indefinite number listed as a "parcel of books."

Those individuals who died intestate and whose estates were inventoried belonged to no one social class so that it would seem justifiable to conclude that if sixty percent of them owned books, approximately the same proportion of book ownership would proba-

³ For purposes of comparison the summaries of the Massachusetts county records are given here although it should be emphasized that they cover an earlier period.

Dates	Estates	Number with books	Percent	Number with Bibles only	Percent
ESSEX COUNTY					
1635-81	1001	390	39	75	19
MIDDLESEX COUNTY					
1654-99	516	311	60	24	8

bly be found among the remainder of the free white population of the colony.

Unfortunately, these tables do not show many interesting details such as the relation of the number of books owned to the monetary value of the estate. Frequently, the estates of wealthy men, valued at well over a thousand pounds, contain only a very small number of titles or sometimes none at all. On the other hand, there are examples of poor men whose personal property was valued at less than twenty or thirty pounds who owned several books. This characteristic of book collecting has probably existed in all ages and the only reason for discussing it here is to show that even in colonial Maryland poverty did not necessarily connote ignorance.

When Joseph Smith, an iron master living in Baltimore County, died, his total personal property was worth but four pounds and consisted of his clothes, a pen knife and two razors, an ink pot, the first volume of Rapin's *History* and two small books.⁴ To be sure, the Commissary General discovered that before her husband's death, Mrs. Smith had given some expensive clothes and his valuable gold watch to his niece, but the fact remains that this poor man possessed more books than some of the wealthy planters. Hugh McMullin of Talbot County was worth only six pounds when he died but he owned a "History of plants" in folio and *The Art of Surgery* by Daniel Turner.⁵ John Athey of Prince George's County was worth nineteen pounds and owned one Bible, one Prayer Book, two old books and a primer.⁶ John Green of the same county owned one old Bible, *The Whole Duty of Man*, a Common Prayer Book and "one weak Prayer Book," although his whole estate was worth only twenty-eight pounds.⁷ Mary Newell, of Annapolis, owned what the appraisers called "29 Very old books."⁸ One of the outstanding libraries owned by a poor man was that belonging to John Tollett of Dorchester County, whose total estate was valued at only nineteen pounds.⁹ His law library contained the following titles:

Cooks Reports	Herns Pleader
Kebles Reports 3 volumes	ye Compleat Clark
Bulstrodes in 3 parts	Swinburn on Wills & Testamts
Wingates Reasons of the Common	ye Orphans Legacy
Law	ye Instructors Clericalis

⁴ Inventories, 1770, liber 104, folio 141.

⁵ Inventories, 1730, liber 15, folio 122.

⁶ Inventories, 1740, liber 15, folio 611.

⁷ Inventories, 1740, liber 15, folio 520.

⁸ Inventories, 1740, liber 15, folios 463-4.

⁹ Inventories, 1730, liber 16, folio 115.

ye Compleat Solicitor	Cooks Institutes in 3 parts
an Abridgmt of Plowdens Commentories	ye Instructors Clericales
the Law of Obligations	Nelsons Justice of ye Peace
Townshins Entry of Judgmts	ye Compleat Solicitor & Attorney
Wingates Abridgments of the Statutes	Bound Body of Laws
Brownrose Pleadings	Book of Acts of Assembly
Tryals of per pais	Common Prayer Book
De jure Maritimo	Old Book Entituled ye Young Mans Companion
old old book intituled ye Compleat Attorney and 1 old book intituled Hoders Arithmetick	Old Pocket Book
Brownrose 1st & 2nd parts	Latin Grammar
	English Dictionary

The books in certain of the more representative libraries containing over twenty volumes have been divided into groups according to a rough classification. The subject divisions have been taken, with a few modifications, from the classification scheme devised by George K. Smart in his study of Virginia libraries.¹⁰ His first subject division contained philosophy and law, but in the following table these subjects have been separated. The next heading contains the classics, dictionaries and grammars. History, biography and travel have been treated as a unit. Religion has been analysed independently. The heading, science and practical arts, contains everything on these subjects except medicine which has been treated separately. English and foreign literature have been classified together. About five percent of the titles could not be identified either because of the illegible writing of the appraisers or because of their unfortunate habit of abbreviating.

This table shows that in these libraries religion was the most popular subject but that there was a slight decrease in the percentage of religious books toward the end of the colonial period. Law, history, biography and travel, and literature were found to be equally popular. The analysis of these libraries indicates that there was a growing interest in the humanities throughout the eighteenth century although the classics held a stationary position. Practical books on science, medicine and the arts were found in some libraries in comparatively large numbers while in others there were none. It should be emphasized that libraries containing over twenty volumes constitute only three percent of the total book collections in the colony.

Three-quarters of the colonial libraries contained less than twenty volumes and almost twenty percent more contained only the Bible or the Common Prayer Book. In these libraries, the proportion of

¹⁰ George K. Smart, "Private Libraries in Colonial Virginia," *American Literature*, X (1938), 24-52.

SUBJECT ANALYSIS OF TWENTY-FIVE LARGER PRIVATE LIBRARIES

Name	Total titles.	Philosophy.	Law.	Classics, Language.	History, Bio- graphy and Travel.	Religion.	Science, Arts.	Medicine.	Literature.	Doubtful.
Henry Coursey	43	0%	32%	6%	14%	18%	6%	16%	2%	2%
Talbot Co., 1703										
Col. Thomas Ennalls	19	0	42	10	10	36	0	0	0	0
Dorchester Co., 1718										
William Glanville	31	0	6	6	9	54	3	6	0	12
Kent Co., 1719										
Rev. Dr. Evan Evans	16	0	6	6	30	50	0	0	0	6
Baltimore Co., 1721										
Rev. Samuel Skippon	28	0	3	40	14	28	0	0	3	10
Annapolis, 1724										
William Smith	81	0	28	11	11	39	9	0	0	2
Baltimore Co., 1733										
James Maxwell	30	0	13	13	3	26	0	33	0	10
Baltimore Co., 1734										
Thomas Warren	20	0	30	15	0	35	0	10	0	5
Baltimore Co., 1736										
John Crockett	59	6	10	11	2	30	6	10	11	3
Baltimore Co., 1736										
John Moale	37	5	2	16	5	45	5	8	16	2
Baltimore Co., 1742										
George Robins	34	6	6	8	6	38	8	8	14	3
Talbot County, 1744										
Dr. Robert Holliday	24	8	8	12	20	12	0	20	12	4
Baltimore Co., 1748										
Robert Morris	183	5	5	5	24	15	10	4	26	3
Talbot Co., 1750										
Daniel Dulany	107	5	6	10	23	26	8	5	8	5
Annapolis, 1754										
Richard Chase	186	3	53	12	8	7	3	1	9	2
Baltimore Co., 1758										
Charles Christie	52	0	5	0	8	7	3	1	50	3
Baltimore Co., 1759										
John Bozman	25	0	20	16	24	12	8	4	8	8
Baltimore Co., 1767										
Jacob Hindman	25	0	4	44	12	24	4	0	14	0
Talbot Co., 1767										
Standley Robins	22	4	4	18	22	18	4	0	40	8
Talbot Co., 1767										
James Heath	21	0	4	4	42	14	0	0	33	0
Baltimore Co., 1768										
Dr. John Jackson	59	1	1	8	35	15	1	1	32	1
Queen Anne's Co., 1768										
Nicholas Goldsborough	35	0	22	14	14	20	5	8	22	5
Talbot Co., 1769										
Rev. Thomas Bacon	140	3	4	9	12	23	9	30	3	3
Frederick Co., 1769										
Christopher Carnan	24	0	0	8	12	75	0	0	0	4
Baltimore Co., 1770										
Ann Asquith	20	0	0	10	0	30	0	5	45	10
Baltimore Co., 1771										
Composite of larger libraries, 1700-1776	1321	2	15	10	15	23	6	7	13	4

religion was higher than in the larger libraries which have already been mentioned. When the collection contained less than four or five titles, they were almost certain to be religious books.

The Bible, which even today is considered "the best seller," was the most popular single title in the colonial libraries. Frequently a person having no other books would own several copies of the Bible in various states of repair. German and a few Dutch editions are found in the inventories of the western counties. French editions are mentioned in a few large estates, usually those of Roman Catholics. Latin and Greek editions are very seldom mentioned in the inventories, but Anglican clergymen had copies available in their parochial libraries.

The Common Prayer Book was also frequently listed and well-to-do Anglicans usually had more than one copy of it. Even more popular than this was the *Whole Duty of Man*, first published in 1657, and attributed to a number of seventeenth-century ministers.¹¹ The generally accepted opinion is that it was compiled by Bishop Fell, from a series of lectures and sermons left by Richard Allistree at his death. The book consists of semi-religious lectures on everyday life which could be read aloud to the whole family in the evening or on Sunday. In many ways it may be called the eighteenth-century substitute for à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*. It was particularly useful in the southern colonies where the clergyman could not often visit his parishioners and they could not regularly attend services in the distant church. The introduction of a nineteenth-century reprint of the *Whole Duty of Man* contains the statement that "Few books have obtained a more general circulation, or have passed through more editions." From a study of the inventories of colonial Maryland, it is apparent that this book was more frequently owned and probably more often read than any other book except the Bible. The influence it had on the cultural development of the colony cannot, of course, be measured, but it is certain that many small farmers and planters looked to it as their primary source of religious ideas and practical advice; doubtless it was their sole contact with the printed word with the exception of the Bible. Dr. Bray sent at least four hundred copies of this book to Maryland for distribution among parishioners living at great distances from the churches, and William Parks published an edition of it at Williamsburg in 1746 which was probably used by Maryland readers.

¹¹ The full title is: "The whole duty of man, laid down in a plain and familiar way for the use of all, but especially the meanest reader. With private devotions for several occasions."

Another popular "guide to holiness" was Lewis Bayly's *Practise of Piety* which was published prior to 1613 and went through over forty editions by 1640. Although it had become "a byword of the old-fashioned religion of the much-lampooned London citizen" in many Restoration plays, it still retained a devoted following in the colonies.¹²

It was not as well thought of in eighteenth-century Maryland as the *Whole Duty of Man*, probably because readers had become unaccustomed to the style in which it was written and rebelled against its examples of God's wrath against sinners.

Throughout the colonial period there was a strong undercurrent of piety and morality in the colony which is reflected in the book collections. In 1763, a group of laymen in Queen Anne's County, organized the "Society for Reformation of Manners, and Punishing of Vice, Prophaness, and Immorality," and petitioned the County Court that:

... as there has been several Informations made by our Society and the Offenders brought to Justice, yet they have been so voyd of the fear of God and Man that they have most impiously & wickedly uttered many hard Sppeeches, & threatening Words, agst. the prosecutors . . .¹³

Charles Etty sent his godson, who had recently moved to Maryland, a collection of religious books including Law's *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, Nelson's *Devotions*, Howe's *Meditations*, Butler's *Analogy*, Butler's *Sermons* and Mason on *Self Knowledge*, "a most excellent book." With the books he sent a letter exhorting the young man to lead a Christian life:

... the Luxury, Dissipation & extravagance of the present Age, has a strong tendency to pervert the minds of young people and cast a Veil over the high Relations we Stand in to the Great Creator . . .¹⁴

Sermons of all kinds were found in the inventories. The weary appraisers frequently lumped them together under such vague headings as "parcel of owld Sermons" or "one small book of sermons." The works of Anglican and Non-Conformist divines seem to have been equally popular. Sermons were probably well read, judging from the physical condition in which they were found when listed for the inventory.

Those bold Quakers, who in the presence of Squire Finch, Presi-

¹² Louis B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England*, p. 261.

¹³ Allen collection of letters of Maryland clergymen, I, 87. Maryland Diocesan Library.

¹⁴ Chas. Etty to Mr. James Brooks, Kensington, May 12, 1773. In Maynadier Letters at Maryland Historical Society.

dent of the Council, and Sir Thomas Lawrence, Secretary of the Province, raised such a din and confusion that their arch enemy, George Keith, was forced to stop preaching, doubtless owned and read the devotional books published by their eminent leaders.¹⁵ William Mauduit of Prince Georges County, a plantation owner and proprietor of a general store, owned a fairly large library in which there were several Quaker items:

Folio

Fox's Martyrs 2 volumes
Henry on Pentateuch Bible & Testament
Flavell's Works 2 volumes
The Laws of Maryland [probably
Parks' Laws of 1727]

Quarto

A Bible
the Practical Navigator
The Justice of the Peace his office

Octavo and Duodecimo

Boyers French Dictionary	Oldhams Works 2 volumes
Prideaux's Connection i. e. The Old and New Testament connected in the history of the Jews and neighboring nations, 1716 4 volumes	Hennetts hymns
Bailey's Dictionary	French Testament
Dielincourt on Death	Imarts Interest
Bohun's Corsus Cancellaria	Patrick's Psalms
Gregory's Elements of Astronomy	England's Reformation
Manduits Sermons	Compendious Guide to the Dutch Tongue
Boyers French Grammar	2 Common Prayers
Watts Miscellanies	2 Gentlemans & 10 London Magazines
	14 Sermons ¹⁶

Another typical religious library belonging to a layman was that of Arthur Miller of Kent County whose inventory was taken in 1734.

a Bible Large Quarto	the Independent Whigg
the Whole Duty of Man	no Cross, no Crown by Mr. Penn
a Treatise on Sacrament [?] and Divine art of Prayer	Daltons Justice of the Peace
the Leadies Library and Religion of Gentiles	Nellsons Ditto
	the Duty and Authority Ditto
	a Parcell of old books ¹⁷

In 1775, the Catholic population was only about one-fifteenth of the total white population of the colony, and it is very difficult to identify libraries of Catholics in the inventory volumes. The priests had collections of religious books which could be used by their parish. Father Joseph Mosley, at St. Joseph's Parish, loaned spiritual

¹⁵ Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Manuscripts A1, 272-4.

¹⁶ Inventories of Estates, liber 42, folio 218-219, c. 1750.

¹⁷ Inventories of Estates, liber 20, folio 536, 1734.

books, and the priest at Newtown Parish is said to have loaned copies of the Old and New Testament, sermons, *Spiritual Retreat*, *Life of Saint Ignatius*, *Great Duties of Life*, *Lives of the Saints*, *Hell Opened*, *Charity and Faith*, *Practical Reflections*, *Think Well on It* and an English translation of the Spanish book by Rodriguez entitled *Christian Perfection*.¹⁸

The next largest class of books were those on law. The libraries of colonial lawyers will be discussed in a later article, and for this reason a detailed analysis is not made here of their books. Although Maryland had what is generally considered the largest and best trained colonial Bar, conditions were such that even laymen were required to have a good legal knowledge if they wished to protect their own interests and to increase their property by trade and land speculation.¹⁹ The relations of the wealthy planters and land owners on the one hand and yeomen tenants on the other required complicated laws and led to numerous disputes. The economic machinery which had developed for the handling of the exports of tobacco, pig iron and wheat, and the import of manufactured goods from England, made it necessary for every successful planter and merchant to know the basic principles of maritime and contract law. Then there were innumerable minor disputes about road repairs, trespasses, fencing, and other questions which were incidental to the settling of a new country. Judging from the bitter invective with which controversies were carried on in the newspaper and in the broadsides, eighteenth-century tempers were unusually hot, and doubtless many law suits resulted.

Nearly every comparatively prosperous farmer or merchant was eligible for the office of Justice of the Peace, and he could usually secure the appointment if he had enough influence at Annapolis. The local justices settled many of the minor disputes without necessitating recourse to the courts and professional lawyers. The inventories frequently list handbooks for the Justices of the Peace. Planters sometimes even undertook to advise their local justice on the procedure he should follow in a particular case and quoted from a handbook to reinforce their point.²⁰

The number of books on the functions of this venerable English official increased as his powers were enlarged during the Tudor and Stuart period. A study has been made of the early handbooks for justices of the peace prior to 1600 which shows the many editions

¹⁸ H. S. Spalding, *Catholic Colonial Maryland*, Milwaukee, 1931. pp. 135-138.

¹⁹ Charles Warren, *History of the American Bar*, Boston, 1911. p. 51.

²⁰ This will be discussed more fully in a subsequent article, "The Reading Interests of Planters and Merchants in Colonial Maryland."

through which the four early treatises went.²¹ During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were many more such handbooks made available for laymen interested in law. Fifty treatises for laymen and justices of the peace were printed in colonial America, and of course many more were imported from England.²²

Among the handbooks frequently listed in the Maryland inventories were Michael Dalton's *The country justice, conteyning the practise of the justices of the peace* (1618); Joseph Keble's *An Assistance to the justices of the peace, for the easier performance of their duty* (1689); William Nelson's *The office and authority of a justice of the peace* (1710) and Richard Burn's *The justice of the peace and parish officer, upon a plan entirely new, and comprehending all the law to the present time* (1775). Burn's handbook, which has been since expanded into many volumes, has been called the most useful book ever published on the law relating to the justice of the peace.

There were also treatises for clerks and professional copyists who drew up legal documents or filled out the blank forms printed by Jonas Green. The following titles were found in more than one library: *The Young Secretary's Guide*, *The Scrivener's Guide* in two volumes, *The Compleat Clerk* and *The Clerks Remembrance*.

There were several popular titles on the administration of estates, a problem which nearly every layman had to face sometime during his life. Included among them were *The Infants Lawyer*, Godolphin's *Orphan's Lawyer*, Curson's *Office of Executor*, *The Law of Executors* and Giles Jacob's *Everyman His Own Lawyer*. So great was the demand for reliable information on the legal aspects of inheritance that in 1774, Elie Vallette published in Annapolis his *Deputy Commissary's Guide*.²³

History was a popular subject with colonial readers and became increasingly so in the second half of the eighteenth century. Most of the libraries consisting of over five or six books contained historical titles. Even the Bray libraries listed a few.²⁴ Bishop Burnet's works were particularly in demand throughout the early period. His *History of the English Reformation* (1769), one of the earliest

²¹ B. H. Putnam, "Early treatises on the practice of the justices of peace in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries," *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*, Oxford, 1924.

²² Eldon N. James, "A list of legal treatises printed in the British Colonies and the American states before 1801," *Harvard Legal Essays*, Cambridge, 1934. pp. 159-211.

²³ L. C. Wroth, *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*, No. 338.

²⁴ See J. T. Wheeler, "The Layman's Libraries and the Provincial Library" in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXV (1940), 71-72.

English histories to use what approached the scientific method, was found in many inventories. Even more popular was his *History of His Own Time* (1724). Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* (1702) was frequently mentioned. The most popular, and in fact almost the only, history of England in the first half of the eighteenth century was Rapin's *Histoire d'Angleterre* (1724), published in English translation soon after. The paucity of English historical literature led Voltaire to remark in 1724 that: "As for good historians, I know of none as yet; a Frenchman has had to write their history."²⁵ The histories of England written by London hackwriters and sold in sheets as they came from the presses were bought by Maryland readers. Smollett's *History of England*, 1757, hurriedly written in order to take the wind out of the sails of Hume's *History*, was found in several inventories and in one instance was listed as "a parcell of Smollett's history of England unbound," probably the condition in which it was received by the Maryland planter. Hume's *History*, the first of the great eighteenth-century histories which proved that history could be written as literature, outnumbers the earlier works on English history in inventories after 1760. Eighteen percent of the five hundred subscribers to Robert Bell's American edition of Robertson's *History of Charles V* were Marylanders, and Bell was so much encouraged that he planned to publish an edition of Hume.

Voltaire's *Age of Louis XIV*, *History of Charles XII*, and his *General History of Europe*, all translated into English, were frequently found in inventories. It was very seldom that readers preferred the original French edition to the English translation of Voltaire's works.

There were many other popular historical works, frequently entered without author and sometimes with such abbreviated titles that their identification is practically impossible. Josephus's *Works* and Lawrence Echard's *Ecclesiastical History* were found in religious libraries. Some of the other titles are: *Roman History* in two volumes; *An Essay on ye Wars of ye Queen Mary*; Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*; Rollin's *History*; *History of King Charles Ist and IInd and King James*; Lediard's *Life of John, Duke of Marlborough* (1736); Humphrey Prideaux's *Life of Mahomet* (1697); *History of Moscovy, Russia, etc.*; *State of England under Queen Anne*; *History of the Twelve Caesars*; Cotton Mather's *Life of Governor Phipps*; Ross's *History of the World*; Daniel's *History of*

²⁵ Quoted from *Cambridge History of English Literature*, X, p. 279.

France; and a book called the *Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire* (inventoried in 1758).

Voyages and travels are found in a few collections, but it is disappointing not to find Hakluyt, Purchas and the other collections of early voyages as well as the expensive folios describing the famous eighteenth century explorations. William Smith, of Baltimore County, whose inventory was drawn up in 1733, had a copy of the *Voyages* of Sir John Narbrough, whose career came to an unhappy close while off Santo Domingo on the "treasure fishing" expedition started by the adventurous Sir William Phipps. He also owned Boyer's *Description of Flanders* and *Voyages in South America*. Richard Chase, whose law collection will be described in a subsequent article, had a copy of Sir John Chardin's *Travels in Persia and India* (1686) and *Voyages to Catogelinia* [?]. Admiral George Anson's *Voyages around the world* (1748) was found in several libraries and *Collection of Voyages to the South Sea* and Harris's *Voyages* were listed once. The voyages of Captain Cook in the South Seas, which are of fundamental interest to those Australians who are interested in the early history of their continent, are found in inventories at the end of the colonial period. There was such a great demand for them that in 1774, William Aikman, the Annapolis bookseller, sold an edition with his name on the title page.²⁶

Hume's *Essays*, the *Works* of John Locke, particularly his *Essay on Human Understanding* and *On Government* were fairly widely read, if the fact that they were listed in colonial libraries can be so interpreted. They were about the only titles of philosophy found with the exception of a few general works such as Kiel's *Introduction to Natural Philosophy*, Grotius and Puffendorf, *Law of Nature and Nations*.

In the Bray libraries there were a few volumes of the classics and the inventories contain many more. Although a survey of the printed inventories of libraries in colonial Virginia revealed the fact that Ovid was the most popular of the classic writers; in Maryland, Seneca was by all odds the most admired. His *Morals* was found in a great many collections, probably in most cases in Roger L'Estrange's translation. His *Tragedies* were not as well liked as the *Morals* but were frequently mentioned. Plutarch's *Lives* and his *Morals* probably come second in frequency of mention. The fact that the titles of the classics were often given in English in the inventories might

²⁶ See Joseph T. Wheeler, "Booksellers and Circulating Libraries in Colonial Maryland," in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIV (1939), 124.

indicate that translations were more common than the originals even during that period of neo-classicism. Some of the other classical writings mentioned are: Homer's *Iliad* in the original and in Pope's translation; Ovid's *Epistles*, *Metamorphosis* and *Art of Love*; Cicero's *Orations*, *Offices* and *On Old Age*; Demosthenes' *Orations*; Virgil; Lucretius; Dunster's *Horace* and Francis's *Horace*; Cato's *Letters*; Longinus' *On the Sublime*.

English literature was also well represented. Most libraries of any size contained a copy of the *Spectator* with perhaps a novel or two and a book of poetry. One of the largest single collections of general literature was that of Charles Christie, sheriff of Baltimore County, who died on March 7, 1757.²⁷ His whole estate was valued at £858, and his library consisted of the following books:

popes Works 9 vols.	Gill Blas
Thompsons works 3 vols.	Beaumont & Fletchers works
Burnetts History of his own times	Oxford & Cambridge Miscellany
4 vols.	Fieldings d ^o
Humes History of Great Britain	Nature displayed
Rabelais works	Drydens Plays
world in Miniture	Farquhars d ^o
Apothegms of Ancients	Ottways d ^o
Compleat Juryman	Congrav's d ^o
demovive on Annuities	Cibbers d ^o
Salmons Modern Gazeteer	Shaffsbury's Characteristicks
Alleins Synopsis Medicine	Letters
Everyman his Own Lawyer	Ducks Poem
Burns Justice of the peace	Cooks d ^o
Miss Blandys Own Acct	Roderick Random
Elphinstones Mapp	Familiar Letters
postlewaits Great Britains true system	Fitzosburns d ^o
Rambler	Spectators
Universall Spectator	Ben Jonson Plays
Free Letters on the Navy	Practical Religion Revised
Conferences w ^t the Indians	History of Charles 12th of Sweden
Conduct of the Ministry	Mairs' Bookeeping
Serious Defense	Guardian
6 letters &c between B—r & Father	Holy Bible
Seldon	Small Books
Universall History ½ bound	Magazines Bound
Swifts works	Wars of the Jews by Josephus

It is difficult to make any sort of generalization as to whether seventeenth century literature was out of favor and had been entirely replaced by the Augustan authors. It is true, however, that there were not many sixteenth and seventeenth century writers represented.

²⁷ *Maryland Gazette*, March 24, 1757.

Among the early works mentioned in the inventories were Shakespeare's *Plays*, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Beaumont and Fletcher's *Plays*, Bacon's *Essays*, Quarles' *Emblems*, Butler's *Hudibras*, and Milton's *Poems*.

Addison, Steele, Pope and Swift were listed more than any other literary writers. Dryden was mentioned several times and John Gay's *Fables* were fairly well received. Mathew Prior's *Poems* was also listed.

The eighteenth century essay series were, judging from the inventories, very well liked. *The Turkish Spy*, a translation from Giovanni Marana's work with supplementary letters, probably added by Daniel Defoe, was often mentioned. Of course, the *Spectator*, the *Tatler*, the *Guardian* and Johnson's *Rambler* were found in a great many libraries.

Copies of the most popular English novels were owned in Maryland. Fielding's *Tom Jones* was frequently mentioned and his *Works* and *Miscellany* were listed a few times. Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle* and *Roderick Random* were well represented. Defoe's *History of Moll Flanders* was found among a number of sermons and religious books. Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* in two volumes was listed in an inventory eight years after the publication of the first edition.

The library of James Heath, plantation owner and representative from Baltimore County in the House of Delegates, who died on November 27, 1766, contained a well-rounded collection of literature:²⁸

Burnetts History of his own times 2 v ^o folio	Debates in the house of Lords 8 vol 8 v ^o
Sidney on Government 2 v ^o fol	Roman History 2 vol Quarto
Johnstone's English Dictionary abridged 2 v ^o octo	Hervies Dialogues
Smollets History of England 8 vol 8 v ^o	Do Meditations 2 vol
Humes Essays 1 vol Quarto	Adventures of a Gumie 2 vol 8 v ^o
The world 6 v ^o	Tristram Shandy 2 vol 8 v ^o
Gill Blass 4 v ^o	Tatlers 2 vol 8 v ^o
Peregrine Pickle 4 vol 8 v ^o	History of Charles 12th King of Sweden 1 vol 8 v ^o
The Age of Lewis 14th 2 vol in 8 v ^o	Bible and Some other old Books
The Rambler 4 vol in 8 v ^o	Voltaires General History of Europe. Translated into English 3 vol 8 v ^o

Le Sage's picaresque romance, *Gil Blas*, seems to have been the most read foreign book excepting Voltaire's historical works, judging from the number of times it was mentioned. *Don Quixote* in a four volume edition was found several times. Rabelais, Montes-

²⁸ Baltimore County Inventories, liber B, folios 190-191.

quieu's *Reflections on the Roman Empire*, and Fenelon's *Télémaque* are among the other foreign titles.

Nearly every library of any size had a dictionary or a book on language. There were many so-called "English Exercises" from which the children probably received their first formal training in the language. Cole's and Bailey's *English Dictionaries* were more used than any others during the early part of the century. Johnson's *Dictionary*, usually in the octavo edition, was introduced later. There were many foreign dictionaries including Littleton's *Latin Dictionary*, Floru's *Latin and English*, Mansue's *Spanish Dictionary*, Boyer's *French Dictionary* and his *French Grammar*, and an unidentified *Compendious Guide to the Dutch Tongue*. Only one copy of Chambers' *Dictionary* (1728) was found and that was valued at £4: 10s. Daniel Robinson, the fortunate owner of this volume, could have rendered a real service to his neighbors by letting them use it.

The Gentlemen's Magazine, *The London Magazine*, *The Critical Review* and *The Universal Spectator* were all mentioned both in bound volumes and in loose parcels. Often the appraisers listed the periodical literature under such vague headings as "35 magazines" or "29 vols. Reviews."

Medical books were a necessity on the large plantations and in the isolated homes. The layman had to be prepared to take care of an emergency when the professional doctor was not available. Wealthy plantation owners probably found it a wise investment to purchase a few medical handbooks so that they might be able to treat the sick including slaves without calling upon the local doctor. The books found in the libraries of colonial doctors will be described in a later chapter. Among the medical handbooks for laymen frequently found in their inventories were: Dydam, *Treatise of Physick*; Quincy's *Dispensatory*; Salmon's *Dispensatory*; and Bate's *Dispensatory*, translated by Salmon. Marylanders probably owned copies of John Tennent's *Every Man his Own Doctor, or the Poor Planter's Physician* which was first published in Williamsburg in 1734 and was advertised in *The Maryland Gazette*.

Practical books on mathematics were found in some of the larger libraries. A great many of them were introductory treatises for educating children in the elements such as Ward, *Young Mathematician's Guide*; Euclid, *Elements*; Vernon, *Arithmetick*; and Moore, *Mathematicks*. Planters and merchants were interested in the mathematics involved in business. Imart, *Interest*; Norwood, *Trigonometry for Merchants*; Mair, *Bookkeeping*; Dafforne, *Accomptant*; and the *Compleat Compting House* were probably helpful in pre-

paring young men for the counting houses of the tobacco factors. Richard Chase and the Rev. Thomas Bacon owned copies of Newton's *Mathematical Principles*.

Books on navigation were sometimes mentioned. William Mauduit, whose library was listed above, owned a copy of *The Practical Navigation* in quarto. *The Marriner's Compass rectified* and *The Marriner's New Callender* were both popular. There were a few books on astronomy including Gregory, *Elements of Astronomy* and Balley, *History of the Heavens* in four volumes. Among the gazetteers, or geographical grammars as they were called, were Echard's, Brise's, Bohun's, Gordon's and Morgan's.

The inventories of the colonial libraries contain very few American imprints. This should not be surprising when it is recalled that the product of the colonial press listed in Charles Evans' *American Bibliography* consisted in a large measure of government publications and ephemeral publications such as newspapers, broadsides and almanacs. Only a very small percentage of the product of the Annapolis Press appeared in book form and was incased in leather binding. The appraisers attached little or no value to unbound pamphlets and invariably grouped them together in parcels which may have contained almanacs, unbound sermons and even Ebenezer Cooke's *Maryland Muse* together with sermons and political pamphlets imported from London.

The private library of Daniel Dulany, the elder, at the Great House Plantation contained Edward Holdsworth's *Muscipula or the Mouse Trap a Poem Latin and English*. It is not known for certain whether this was the translation made by Richard Lewis and published by William Parks at Annapolis in 1728, or one of the several translations published in England during the eighteenth century.

The annual session laws, frequently bound together in one volume, and the compilations of the Maryland laws were found in the inventories of lawyers, doctors, clergymen and planters. William Parks's compilation of the laws published in 1727 was entered in the inventories as "the old Body of Laws" and after the middle of the century was found in various stages of disrepair. In 1766, the Rev. Thomas Bacon's monumental *Laws of Maryland at Large* was published by Jonas Green and is frequently found mentioned in the later inventories. The only other Maryland imprint specifically mentioned by title was the Rev. Thomas Craddock's *New Versions of the Psalms of David* which had been published in 1756. It is quite possible that some copies of this book listed in the Baltimore County inventories were of the English edition rather than of the earlier one printed by Jonas Green.

This analysis of a cross section of the libraries of colonial Marylanders based upon a study of the inventories of the estates has shown that nearly sixty percent of the free white population possessed books. Although three-quarters of the book collections contained less than ten books, often only a Bible and a few religious books, there were colonists who owned comparatively large and interesting libraries. The libraries of various social classes in the colony—planters, merchants, lawyers, clergymen and doctors—will be discussed more fully in the subsequent articles in this series.

ALEXANDER CONTEE HANSON, FEDERALIST PARTISAN

By JOSEPH HERMAN SCHAUINGER

He was not great, but at least was colorful, and at times even volcanic. He killed his man, a naval officer in the days of the Code. He was almost killed himself when, with a few companions, in a stronghold much less defensible than the Alamo, he attempted to fight a Baltimore mob. Elected to Congress as a Federalist during the War of 1812, it was a very obscure Republican who did not have at least one row with the fiery, swashbuckling, Alexander C. Hanson.

It is sometimes thought that the Federalists were confined to New England. Perhaps this may be ascribed to the works of Henry Adams, or perhaps to the power and virulence of the "Essex Junto." At any rate, it is an error, for there were many prominent men of the South who were Federalists. It might almost be said that most of the Federalists of the South were prominent, because the majority of the people there were Republicans. A few of the more outstanding Federalists in the South were John Marshall, Bushrod Washington, and James Breckinridge of Virginia, John Steele, William R. Davie, and William Gaston of North Carolina, Philip B. Key and A. C. Hanson of Maryland.

Hanson was born at Annapolis on February 27, 1786, the second son of Rebecca (Howard) Hanson and the Maryland jurist of Revolutionary fame, after whom he was named. In 1802 he was graduated from St. John's College, and began the practice of law soon afterwards in his native town. In 1808 he founded the *Federal Republican*, a newspaper that was soon to establish a reputation as the most violent of the anti-administration papers. With the founding of this paper Hanson moved upon the national scene.

His policy was simple; attack the administration in any and every way; show that the Jeffersonians had sold out to France and were supporting Napoleon; that the last hope of civilization, law, and order was old Mother England.

Josephine Fisher's research has proven that Hanson's paper was extensively used by the British Minister, Francis J. Jackson, to counteract the activity of the anti-British party in this country.¹ Hanson became very intimate with Jackson, carried on a voluminous

¹ Josephine Fisher, "Francis James Jackson and Newspaper Propaganda in the United States, 1809-1810," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXX, 93-113.

correspondence with him concerning American affairs, asked him for English newspapers, and even solicited articles for use in the *Federal Republican*. On that cold, grey morning in early January of 1810 when Hanson set out to settle his affair of honor with Captain Gordon, Jackson was informed, so that he would know why his letters might not be answered at once.

As the war clouds moved nearer and assumed a more threatening aspect the *Federal Republican* rained abuse upon Madison and his crowd.

" . . . There is scarcely an act of tyranny and oppression complained of against George the Third which has not been committed by Jefferson and his political pimp . . . whiffing Jemmy," was a characteristic shaft aimed by Hanson.²

Such quips aroused the ire of the most disreputable class in Baltimore. When war was declared against England in June of 1812 Hanson became, if possible, even more pro-British. This was more than Baltimore could stand. In July a howling crowd moved upon the offices of the paper. With the aid of a few friends and a hastily erected barricade the mob was resisted for a time. However, after an interlude, it moved upon the few Federalists with more success. The mayor had stood by, unwilling or unable to quell the disorder. It was finally agreed that the heroic defenders of the liberty of the press should be confined to the city jail for safekeeping. On the way to this doubtful sanctuary the mob surged in, with the result that most of the band were severely injured. General Henry Lee was killed, and Hanson badly hurt. After this affair the paper was removed to Georgetown.

Hanson was elected a Congressman to the Thirteenth Congress, which convened May 24, 1813. Here he was able to continue his fulminations. To his brother Federalists he was a victorious martyr. "Black Dan" Webster, who had just been elected to his first national post in this Congress, wrote that "Hanson is a great hero." On another occasion Webster wrote that action upon a certain measure would be delayed until the arrival of Hanson. However, beyond quarreling and making ardent speeches Hanson could do nothing, for the legislature was in the very capable hands of Henry Clay and his fellow war-hawks. As a matter of fact, no one did anything in this Congress. The Federalists could do little more

² *Federal Republican*, July 4, 1811. Quoted in Bernard Mayo, *Henry Clay: Spokesman of the West*, p. 392. Mayo has many apt quotes from this paper.

than cry and bluster about the pro-French policy of the administration. Practically every Federalist speech was sounded on this note.

The fireworks began when the Republicans decided to exclude George Richards, the reporter for the *Federal Republican*, on the plea that there was no room for him.

Concerning this move Hanson said:

It is vain to expect to crush the spirit of opposition, to stifle opposition or investigation, change the nature of truth or shut out its light from people . . . for no matter what is done, still will the rays of truth pierce solid walls and shed its light on the land. . . . As yet there is no privileged order known to the written constitution. The press of this free country had no prefect set over it by law. . . .³

This dispute occasioned his first Congressional quarrel. One of his colleagues, Robert Wright of Maryland, had accused the *Federal Republican* of being in the pay of Great Britain. In the course of his speech Hanson turned toward Wright with the remark that he forgot what he owed to himself in noticing the aspersions of this gentleman, but that he had no hesitation in pronouncing the charges of foreign influence against the paper a base calumny. He concluded by observing that Wright knew where to seek a remedy for any remarks he did not like. To this Wright replied that he still believed that the paper was "corruptly published, and that he was prepared to seal this belief with his blood."⁴

Hanson then leaped to his feet and growled, "Now, Sir, once for all, I wish it to be distinctly understood, that nothing which can fall from that quarter (pointing to Wright), nothing which that member could think, utter, or do, can possibly disturb my breast. This is the first and last time I notice him."

However, his colleague had succeeded in disturbing him to the extent that he fell back exhausted into his seat. Hanson was never in good health after his escape from the Baltimore mob; his injuries had prematurely aged him. Compared to many of the other Federalists he did little talking in this Congress, for he could not stand it. His own statement bears this out. At the very beginning of the session he told the House that "being in such a state of extreme debility as to forbid any active, personal, or intellectual exertion" he would have little to say. After almost every speech of Hanson's appears the significant line—"Mr. H being completely exhausted." There is no doubt that he was a man of deep courage and character.

He could not still his fiery tongue when aroused by the more

³ *Annals of Congress*, 13 Cong. 1 sess., p. 113 (May 31, 1813).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

active of the war-hawks. Two weeks after his row with Wright he launched an attack on "that damn Felix Grundy" of Tennessee, the ugly, acid-tongued frontiersman, whose chief occupation seemed to consist in irritating sensitive Federalists. Grundy had just concluded a sweeping defense of the administration. Hanson, in his usual manner, rose to the occasion, with the wish "to deprive of lawyer-like dexterity . . . and characteristic skill and cunning for which he understood the member stood unrivaled and pre-eminent in the highly civilized and refined state which honored the House with his presence here. . . ." ⁵

When he branded his opponent as "the apologist of France" he was called to order by the Speaker. Later, he very pointedly remarked that Grundy could set an example in and out of the House which would require a very stout heart to follow.

As before observed, the Federalists were concerned mainly with the French peril. In some way the editor of the *Federal Republican* obtained a letter which was supposed to have been written by the French Minister to the Secretary of State before the existing war. It was declared to be of a most insulting nature; practically dictating the terms which the United States would have to meet before France would negotiate a treaty of commerce. The Federalists accused the administration of trying to conceal the existence of the letter. Hanson tried to force some sort of Congressional investigating committee to act on it. He even drew up a resolution to cause an investigation as to how he had obtained the letter. All this was of no avail. The Republicans were having enough trouble without bothering with this. In any event, it contained too much dynamite for them to explode. Every resolution concerning it was defeated. William Gaston of North Carolina had the contents of the letter read into the records, but this was all.

During the course of the debate on this question Hanson practically challenged Jonathan Roberts of Pennsylvania, whom he accused of introducing a bill containing an implication against his honor and veracity.

Even the gentlemanly South Carolinian, John C. Calhoun, had to bow to Hanson's anger. Of this gentleman the latter said,

. . . It was this same bold and false prophet who led us into Canada to conquer free trade and sailors' rights; and such is the sanguine nature of the late Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, that I have no doubt even now he would contract, if he could find security for the forfeiture, to

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

capture in six weeks, more or less, the whole British army and deliver them, bound hand and foot, at the Capitol. . . .⁶

Finally, not even the capital itself was proof against his sarcasm and temper. When the bill to remove the capital was being debated—after the British had marched through and fired some of the public buildings—Hanson moved that further consideration of the motion be indefinitely postponed, and in the concise words of the reporter:

Supported his motion by a speech the substance of which was, that though he entertained very great contempt for the citizens of Washington, which he expressed in the most pointed language, he was opposed to a removal at this moment, as being derogatory to the national dignity and honor.⁷

His enemies probably thought that he was never satisfied unless quarreling with someone. It must be admitted that he did not show himself to best advantage in debate. To his friends he revealed the better side; both must be taken into consideration to obtain a complete picture of the man. The Federalist from North Carolina, William Gaston, made many friends while in this Congress. Among these was numbered Hanson. The following letter to Gaston not only throws more light upon his character, but also contains interesting material on the time.

To Hon. William Gaston

Geotown May 19, 1814

My dear Sir:

After an absence of more than three weeks, I am once more seated in my big chair. But after the incessant rains that have fallen this month of May it was in vain to attempt bringing my family home with me. I have left them road bound in the neighborhood of the city of toleration and sound principles—you will understand at once I mean Baltimore.

My brother was quite mortified at not seeing you. Grosvenor and Lovett were still with him when I arrived, and they stayed another day. Poor Lovett; he has lost his office, through the treachery of the Clinton party who left us in a body on the day of election. It is just what I expected. Clinton's play was to throw the game into the hands of the democrats that Mr. King might be beaten, and thus he would have it believed there is no chance of his being the next President. What a corrupt, intriguing set they are in N. York. I have written to Grosvenor beseeching him to leave the State. He half promised me that he would when he left, but Hoffman, Gardenier, & the rest of the clan I know will tease and laugh him out of it. I should take it I am not now in the best possible *odeur* with the Clinton party, and after what has passed upon the bank question, it is reasonable to conclude my standing is not much better with the King party—between two stools.

⁶ W. M. Meigs, *Life of John C. Calhoun*, I, 217.

⁷ *Annals*, 13 Cong., 3 sess., p. 322.

After all our sad vaticinations to the contrary you see 10 millions of the loan are taken, but upon the most ruinous terms. It is expressed in the certificates of stock that the new creditors shall be placed upon the footing with any future creditors. In this way—if the next loan goes off at 80, then the subscribers to the 10 million are to have \$8 paid back to them. Thus will all the holders of the new stock be interested in crying down the next loan, a premium being given to them to preach national distress, embarrass the financial operations of the government, and to compel the Secretary of the Treasury to sell at the worst possible terms. They have only to throw a quantity of the stock into the market, and make feigned sales to depress the stock, and then they demand to be reimbursed in the difference between the new and the last loan. This is very like killing the goose to get all the golden eggs at once. Campbell has succeeded, by attaching this privilege to the stock, in relieving the present wants of the treasury, but he has effectually destroyed all hope of disposing of the balance of the 25 million authorized to be borrowed. The very men who would otherwise be relied on to assist the treasury, even the speculators will find their interest in combining against the treasury.

If you were here, or within striking distance where I could get at you, I would hunt you out that I might give you a cordial grip of congratulation on the news from France. Castlereagh in Paris negotiating with the Senate of France after a grand battle before the gates of Paris and Bonaparte left with 45,000 men. Moreau was killed before the walls of Dresden and his aid Rappatelle fell before the barriers of Paris. It is curious. I knew the latter, but cannot say much of him. The former I never admired, because it was within his power to have prevented all the blood that has been shed from flowing, but he had neither the talent, spirit or ambition to prevent mischief or do great good. Perhaps it is because I hate all the French. Lord Nelson said "there is no other way to reason with a Frenchman but to knock him down." I should knock the whole nation down if it were with me and there wasn't any other way of preserving the balance of power in Europe. I got the news through little Payne,⁸ the American Roscius, whom you have heard me speak of, as having raised funds for him to go to England to improve himself in his profession. His three letters are very interesting and if franking season was not gone by I would enclose them for your amusement.

Come, here is a sort of beginning to our correspondence so you have no excuse for not writing to me.

Yrs. most truly

& sincerely,

Alex. C. Hanson

Several of Hanson's facts concerning the new loan were inaccurate, but his conclusions were correct. Madison obtained but a

⁸ John Howard Payne, actor, dramatist and author of "Home, Sweet Home." He had many friends in Baltimore, where he first appeared on the stage in 1809, among whom were William Gwynn, editor of the *Federal Gazette*, Jonathan Meredith, successful attorney, and Hanson. Through the efforts of these and other friends a fund of \$2000 was raised to enable Payne to display his talents as an actor in England. A young man of 22, he sailed in January, 1813, to be gone, as it happened, for twenty years.—*Editor*.

small part of the money needed, and general bankruptcy at length occurred. Campbell had to resign and the President was compelled to call a special session of Congress.⁹ As usual Hanson revealed in this letter his proclivity to deal harshly with his enemies. A month later he wrote again to Gaston. In this letter he set forth the usual Federalist position concerning our relations with England, but in his analysis of the French situation he was remarkably farsighted. He foresaw the return of Bonaparte.

To Hon. Will Gaston

Geo.-town
June 12, 1814

My Dr. Sir,

Your letter gave me infinite satisfaction. It was so long coming tho that I had thought you had ceased to bear in mind that there was such a being on earth as humble me. It is the nature of friendship and affection to be suspicious and jealous.

My sole occupation is riding, reading and writing. Of what is called pleasure, I take nothing, and never leave the house unless it is to take an airing in the gig. I am too weak to ride on horseback. An attack of the old complaint a fortnight ago has made me quite feeble. If you ever read the paper, you will acknowledge that in the scribbling way at least I have not been idle. The confection of paragraphs is my evenings amuzements tho they are always crude and often badly put together. Tomorrow's county paper would have informed you of the receipt of your letter. A sentence being borrowed from it contained the acknowledgment.

You ask for my opinion of the effect of the Revolution in Europe upon American affairs. It will be collected from the suggestions given in the paper. I consider and treat as idle all apprehensions of the enemy's rising in his demands upon us. The truth is no demands have ever been made upon this govt. The British only require a recognition of their own rights. She simply claims the right to the service of her own subjects—to take them on a common jurisdiction, and to punish them according to their own law when found in arms against their own country within its acknowledged jurisdiction. Add the dispute about what constitutes a blockade according to public law and you comprize in a narrow compass the whole matter in controversy. Can there exist a doubt in the mind of any candid man who has attended to the course of measures pursued here and the pretensions set up by Mr. Madison that he has been from the beginning in the wrong. He must give up the question of the hostages, in place of the French definition of blockade, he must conform to that of the writers on the law of nations, and he must abandon the claim of employing and protecting British subjects. Until this is done, every call upon the minority to support the war must be disregarded if they are firm, consistent, and true to themselves and country. When the documents are published, should it appear that an honest and sincere effort was made at Gettsburg to renew the relations of amity and peace without effect, and that after yielding every point which we

⁹ See Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, VIII, 212-215, for details of the loan.

say ought to be yielded, the British urged new claims striking at the honor, rights or sovereignty of the nation, then I say, let the only contest among Americans be who shall go furthest in their maintenance and vindication. But I have no idea of prolonging the war for the *right* to trade with the British Islands, her East India possessions, or to take fish within her jurisdiction or to strike and dry them on her territory, for the simple reason because we have no such right. We must rely upon her good will to extend to us these privileges and advantages. If she no longer feels any good will for us, we must be content with securing our rights. The comparative strength and resources of the two countries make it altogether idle & fruitless to fight for an advantageous treaty, so we must be content with what will be considered an honourable one. Am I wrong? Tell me if you think so and assign the reasons for your differing in opinion. But I have no idea now of our being placed in any situation of difficulty as a party, in deciding how to act. We have gone over the ground so often, and every Federalist has his lesson so well by heart that I apprehend no blundering, or "getting out" as they say at school. We all know our duty, and I trust will be prompt and dauntless in discharging it. Still the necessity exists of making regular appeals to the people. The pen of every man who can write should be put in requisition. Now is the time to rise upon our adversaries. We should strike every moment while the furnace is in blast & the iron can be kept hot. As a party we stand upon the most elevated ground. Besides justice, honor and everything else that can recommend a cause, Providence seems to be on our side. But we must nevertheless put our shoulders to the wheel or Hercules will not help us. Suppose you and Stanley brush up the N. C. Fed. Rep. by taking advantage of circumstances & the times you may get the State with you.

I am in a prodigious great hurry but I must say a word or two about the affairs of France. Don't you think Louis will be insecure with all the late creatures of Bonaparte in office and about his person. No doubt numbers of these persons were tired of their master and desired a change, but the majority of them were attached to him. They were all compelled to bow to circumstances, but I have not a doubt that in less than a twelvemonth we shall hear of conspiracies against the Bourbons. If Bonaparte is not taken off by poison or the dagger, living at Elba upon his immense annuity, he will be visited there either openly or clandestinely, at any rate he will be corresponded with, and some desperate wretches may be induced by the expectation of great gain to massacre the whole Royal family. Let it then be announced that Bonaparte had landed and the terror of his name would prevent everything like resistance. This is the beginning very soon to augur evil, but really I can see nothing like safety for the Bourbons surrounded as they are by the murderers of Louis XVI & the late creatures of Bonaparte and he too alive. Had the dethronement of Bonaparte been a matter of choice with the Senate Legislative body, his Generals and armies it would have been totally different, but as it is he will carry the hearts of thousands into banishment with him. I hope I may be mistaken but am almost certain, without a great change in the officers, civil & military, there will be no repose for poor Louis. As Burke says there will continue a disposition to hope for much from the variety and inconstancy of villainy, rather than the tiresome uniformity of fixed principles, but he describes Louis XVIII as a man of general knowledge, of sharp and keen observation,

of gracious and princely manners. Monsieur Comte d'Artois he says is eloquent lively, engaging in the highest degree of a decided character, full of energy and activity in a word he presumes him a brave hon'ble & accomplished Cavalier. This gives me some hopes, but as long as Napoleon is alive there will be no counting on the permanency of the French Government. I should like to meet you in Richmond in October to spend a few days together. Let me know when you will come on.

My family all desire to be remembered to you . . .

Your friend.

A. C. Hanson

However, with the end of the war Hanson began to drift away from the Federalist party, and by 1815 was in sharp conflict with it. He felt that it had not supported his paper as vigorously as possible. Rufus King, the nominal leader of the Federalists, tried to placate him, but to no avail. In 1815 King wrote Hanson, among other things, that

Of your zeal, your disinterested views and correct principles I have the most entire conviction; of your devotedness to these principles no proofs are wanting; for the honor of our country they are already too strong. The injury done to your property has been great; and further sacrifices, should they be necessary, no one seems to have a right to call upon you to make. I know that you can never compromise your well settled opinions, and I am mistaken if, at this period of your life, you can much abate in your laudable zeal to explain them; still the interest of your own independance and the comfort of a beloved family ought not to be neglected.¹⁰

Later in the same year King wrote to Christopher Gore about Hanson, saying:

. . . I have recd. a letter from Hanson on the subject concerning which you had one or two conferences with him—He is very much mortified and dissatisfied—appears to entertain strong resentments agt. Mason, suspects Webster and Easton, conceives that he has been unfairly treated, that his standing and character are struck at, and that his own and family's ruin is aimed at. It is more than probable that his pecuniary affairs have been neglected; that while his expenses have been certain and great in circulating his paper, the income has been far short of what it shd have been, and would have been under the direction of a man, who understood the value of money, and who would bestow the proper care on the money department. Anyone who knows Hanson must know that he has feelings and sentiments which disqualify him for that sort of attention wh. is indispensable in collecting the annual subscriptions. . . . Hanson thinks his political friends in his own state have been shy of him. To a meeting of the leaders held some time since, preparatory to the fall election, Hanson alone of the Fed. members of Congress, was omitted in the invitation; this has increased his dissatisfaction. . . . In my answer to his letter, I took pains to soothe his feelings, but declined any agency respecting the disposal of his paper. . . .¹¹

¹⁰ King to Hanson, May 28 (1815), *Correspondence of Rufus King*, ed. by Chas. King, V, 480 n.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, V, 479-482.

King did not succeed in soothing Hanson as the following letter to his good friend, Robert G. Harper, will attest.

September 22, 1815

My dear Sir,

When I first became enamoured of political pursuits, it was my delight to contrast the publick and private qualities in general composing the two parties. I considered federalism all that was pure, disinterested and exalted and democracy exactly the reverse. Experience has shown me that the shades of difference between the two parties are but slight, with some few distinguished exceptions among the prominent men on both sides. The complaints which the *stolen letter* has given rise to have disgusted me more than any recent event. The sentiments expressed in it, were those entertained and expressed by every man of the party, at the period of its date. We all rejoiced at the peace, and that it had been brought about by the relinquishment of those pretentions which the supporters of administration knew to be extravagant and untenable. To rejoice because these pretentions were abandoned was no more than rejoicing at the peace, because without their abandonment peace was unattainable. And may it not be asked, if the Democrats themselves did not rejoice in their abandonment when by illuminations and feasts they testified their frantic joy at the termination of the war? By the very terms of the treaty, our claims upon the subject of impressment, were in effect withdrawn and disavowed, and the administration declares the treaty to be honorable, which in other words is nothing less than an acknowledgement of their being always in the wrong on this great question. I have not therefore been able to perceive the "imprudence" of your "unfortunate letter." But notwithstanding, full one-half of the Federalists with whom I have conversed say, if the election is lost, it will be owing to the "unfortunate letter" which it would have been better to disavow—that is, it would have been better for the federal party to disclaim such sentiments, and to have left the writer in the lurch, in other words to have offered him up as a victim to popular clamour and delusion. Such is Baltimore federalism, and such the principle of many of that city, but governed by its influence. It would seem almost a vain hope for a party to get along when composed of such materials.

I proved now [*sic*] to the first object of my letter when I sat down to write. I am making arrangements to remove the *Federal Republican* back to the place of its activity [nativity?]. My motives for this step are strong as regards my own interest, and I am induced to think the public will be likewise benefitted. As relates to my own interest, there can be no doubt of its being materially promoted. I am now convinced that no federal journal can more than support itself at the seat of government. The patronage it has to subsist on is too remote, the District itself never affording enough to defray the expense of ink, candles, and paste. In a commercial city like Baltimore, whose population is now overflowing and continually increasing, a paper which could carry with it more than 3000 subscribers from other parts of the Union, would soon prove a handsome fortune. The city patronage would nearly pay the expenses leaving the remainder clear gain. Besides the Federal Republican would enjoy in Baltimore the same advantages it does at Georgetown—to wit, the correspondence of members

of Congress and the first publication of all the opposition speeches. There can be no question, whatever might be the coldness of its reception at first or the opposition made to it by the friends of the paper which has started up in Baltimore since its absence, it would soon find a circulation corresponding with my wishes. If I could afford to lose what I have invested in the paper, I would let it fall, rather than carry it back to Baltimore, for a few months of rural luxury and ease has taught me the value of retirement and tranquillity. But my duty to my family requires a continuance of those exertions which have so far enabled me to pass through life without experiencing the contempt and scorn which follow poverty.

I think the cause would also be benefitted. That mean servile temporizing spirit which has spread much since June 1812 ought to be written down, or brought into contempt, by example of firmness, consistency and intrepidity. Federalism in Baltimore is in a state of bondage and the *wishy-washy* paragraphs of the Telegraph however to be admired for the smoothness and beauty of their style are not calculated [to rouse] the party to an effort to break its chains. I wish your opinion upon this subject given in that spirit of candor and frankness which belongs to a friendship such as that which has long subsisted between us. Will you have the goodness to consult Mr. Oliver and such other gentlemen as you think entitled to be advised on this subject. Some that I had an opportunity to converse with, when I was in town a few days ago, were bold to say, the paper ought to have been formally invited back to Baltimore immediately upon the restoration of peace—that there was no other way of wiping off the stain that had been cast upon the party. I desire no such invitation; all I desire is, to be allowed to take back the paper without having its old friends among its new enemies. The sooner I hear from this subject the better. I am impatient to make the change.

The loss of Vermont in addition to the unfavorable result in North Carolina destroys Mr. King's hopes. I now see no other chance of putting down Monroe but to take up Clinton. I understand he can always secure his own state with the aid of the federal party, and that Vermont has always been at his disposal. I suppose he understands buying as well as Monroe, and will have the same fund at his command, with this exception, that his antagonist will be able, in part, to pay in advance.

Your friend sincerely,

A. C. Hanson.¹²

Mr. Harper

Hanson's feeble health did not permit much more activity. He left the House in 1816. The following year he was appointed to the Senate, to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of his friend, Harper. He did very little here, for his poor health soon resulted in death, which occurred April 23, 1819.

It is hoped that these letters of Hanson will throw a little more light upon his erratic character.

¹² Galloway, Markoe, Maxcy Collection, Library of Congress.

DECATUR IN PORTRAITURE

By CHARLES LEE LEWIS

It is always interesting to study the portraits of distinguished men. In such portraiture, as in biography, the interpretations of different artists vary greatly. A difference in pose, dress, or age of the subject would naturally account for much of this variation. But there must be taken into consideration also the mental point of view of the artist whose own individual interpretation of the character of his subject will be reflected in the face and figure of the portrait. It is in this latter respect that one finds the basis for many significant contrasts and comparisons.

There are many portraits of Decatur for such a consideration of his appearance and character. Inasmuch as he became a national figure when comparatively young, it is not at all strange that this idol of the navy and the nation should have been so frequently painted by the leading artists of his day. A close scrutiny of these portraits will readily reveal those characteristics of Decatur which made him a beloved leader and a national hero.

What is probably the earliest portrait of Decatur is the miniature by the Italian artist Olivo Sezzi. There is a rather well established tradition that this was seen by Susan Wheeler in Decatur's cabin on the frigate *Congress* shortly after its arrival in November, 1805, at Norfolk from the Mediterranean after the close of the war with Tripoli. When she visited the ship with a party of friends in Decatur's absence, Miss Wheeler could hardly have imagined that in four months she was to become the wife of the dashing young captain portrayed in the miniature. This small portrait, 3" x 3½", always remained in the Decatur family until July 23, 1929, when William Decatur Parsons presented it to the United States Naval Academy. A reputed duplicate of it is owned by Mrs. Arthur Hef-fenger¹ of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. She inherited this miniature from Robert T. Spence, a midshipman in the United States Navy during the Tripolitan War, to whom Decatur presented this likeness of himself. Still another miniature, portraying Decatur as a young man, by an unknown artist, was presented by the Sultan of Turkey to Admiral Farragut on his visit to Constantinople during his European tour after the Civil War; it has recently been loaned to the U. S. Naval Academy Museum by Mrs. Morton L. Deyo.

¹ She spells the name of the painter of her miniature as Olivio Sezzi.

The next portrait of Decatur, in chronological order, is probably that by William Birch. According to a letter² of February 13, 1806, Decatur wrote from Norfolk to the artist in Philadelphia, "I will thank you to forward to this place one of your profiles of me as early as possible." It is somewhat puzzling as to what these "profiles" actually were. The earliest edition of Webster's *Dictionary* (1828) defines the word as "a portrait represented sidewise or in a side view." Whatever they were, none of the original profiles are now extant, but that they were paintings is indicated by the fact that an engraving by David Edwin, copyrighted April 1, 1813, bears the name of William Birch as painter. Below the portrait the engraver had added a drawing of the engagement between the *United States* and *Macedonian*, which had meanwhile been fought the previous October 25. A copy of this engraving is in the United States Naval Academy Museum. Thomas Birch, son of William Birch, painted an excellent picture, now in the Pennsylvania Historical Society, of the battle between the *United States* and the *Macedonian*, and in an engraving of it by S. Seymour the engraver has placed below the battle scene a medallion of Decatur which was evidently copied either from William Birch's portrait or the engraving of it by Edwin.

The portrait which has been placed third in order of time may possibly have been earlier than that by Birch, though it cannot now be dated exactly. The artist, Charles Balthazar Julien Fevret de Saint-Mémin came to New York not long after 1793. One of his specialties was the engraving of portraits by what he called the "physionotrace" method. First he made a crayon drawing of his subject from life, which was then reduced by his machine within a circle about two inches in diameter. This he engraved or etched on a small copper plate. For twelve impressions and the original crayon plus the plate he charged \$33. His work must have been very popular, as he is credited with over 800 portraits, most of the well known people of the United States in the early years of the nineteenth century being included.

Many of these portraits have been reproduced in the Dexter catalogue of Saint-Mémin's *Collection of Portraits*. Plate number 650 of the Dexter catalogue is incorrectly stated to be that of Decatur. A notation in the copy of this catalogue in the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington, signed by Charles Harper Walsh of the staff of the Library of Congress, states that this plate portrays "John Green, Purser, U. S. Navy, born in 1782 in Somerset County, Maryland, and died in 1850 in Washington. Statement given on the authority of his

² In Pennsylvania Historical Society.

daughter Mrs. Maria Green Devereux of Cleveland Park (August 18, 1900) who owns the original copper plate." The authentic Saint-Mémin portrait of Decatur has always been in the Decatur family and is now owned by Mrs. Augusta Shippen Morris³ of Philadelphia. It has not been reproduced in the Dexter catalogue, which as has already been stated does not include all of Saint-Mémin's works. Max Rosenthal made an etching of it, which was copyrighted by the Pennsylvania Historical Publishing Association of Philadelphia in 1903, and Guy Carleton Lee reproduced the portrait in his *History of North America*, Vol. 12 (Philadelphia, 1925). This portrait is unique in that it is the only one which portrays Decatur in civilian clothes. The anchor design is thought to have been added later as a doubtful improvement by the hand of some restorer.

Another portrait painter who portrayed Decatur probably before the War of 1812 was Rembrandt Peale, son of Charles Willson Peale who was a more distinguished artist than any of his talented children. There are two portraits of Decatur by Peale. They are not duplicates, the uniforms being quite different though the pose of the head and the expression of the face are quite similar. One of these, which was purchased from the Peale Gallery sale in Philadelphia in 1854,⁴ is in the New York Historical Society; while the other belongs to the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore.

It was not until after Decatur captured the British frigate *Macedonian* in the War of 1812 that the most noteworthy portraits of him were painted. As early as December 17, 1812, following this victory, the New York municipal authorities voted him the freedom of the city in a gold box and requested that his portrait be painted for the City Hall. It was in due time painted by Thomas Sully for the sum of \$500, and now hangs in the Controller's Office. The portrait was begun by Sully on July 12, 1814 and finished the following September.⁵ Being a large painting, 66" x 94", it shows in profile the complete figure of Decatur in dress uniform with the left foot slightly advanced and the right hand resting lightly on the hilt of his sword. He stands beside the base of a column. In the background are Castle William and New York Bay.

Before undertaking this large portrait, Sully painted a much smaller one, 30" x 38", in exactly the same pose and setting. Whether this was merely a preliminary study or whether the artist was dis-

³ Mrs. Morris owns also the Saint-Mémin portraits of Decatur's father and mother.

⁴ Letter of June 17, 1930, from Alexander J. Wall, Librarian of New York Historical Society.

⁵ *Life and Works of Thomas Sully* by Edward Biddle and Mantle Fielding. Philadelphia, 1921.

pleased with his first attempt is not definitely known, though it is quite evident that the larger portrait is a great improvement, the head and in fact the whole figure being decidedly more graceful and pleasing in appearance. The smaller painting is now owned by Mrs. Edwin Tatham of New York City. Several different engravings of the City Hall portrait have been made, and they have often been reproduced as illustrations. Among them is the three-quarter, 4.12" x 3.11", line engraving by A. B. Durand "from a copy by James Herring, copyright, 1835,"⁶ first reproduced in the *National Portrait Gallery* by James B. Longacre and Joseph Herring, Volume 3. This is an engraving of the upper part of the portrait, just including the hilt of the sword. An engraving of only the bust was made by J. F. E. Prud'homme and reproduced first as a frontispiece for Mackenzie's *Life of Stephen Decatur*. This stipple vignette, 2.1" x 2.4", was made by special permission after the portrait in the New York City Hall. In John Frost's *American Naval Biography* is reproduced a portrait of Decatur by Pinkerton, as engraved by W. Cromme, which is nothing more than the upper portion of the Sully portrait, reversed as by a mirror, with a ship added to the background. In *Harper's Weekly* (Vol. 37, p. 358) there is a pen and ink sketch by A. B. Doggett, which is a full length copy of the Sully portrait.

At the United States Naval Academy is a bust profile portrait of Decatur in sepia, monotone, 20" x 24", also by Sully. It was begun by the artist on April 25, 1816, and finished only three days later.⁷ It portrays Decatur in a uniform with a very high coat collar. It is said to have been painted as a model for Decatur's bust on the medal awarded him by Congress for the capture of the *Macedonian*. This medal was designed by Moritz Fürst. He was the designer also of a smaller medal, bearing the date 1813, which has a somewhat different likeness of Decatur on one side and the bust of James Lawrence on the other. Copies of the smaller medal, apparently made of lead, are in the U. S. Naval Academy Museum and in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Sully painted still another bust portrait of Decatur, in oil on a wooden panel, 7" x 9", which presents Decatur in a pose remarkably like that of Stuart's portrait of him. It was presented to the Pennsylvania Historical Society in 1861 by Samuel Breck, and may be the painting listed by Biddle and Fielding as the one painted for Stephen Price, which was begun on August 20, 1814, and finished the follow-

⁶ *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel* by David M. Stauffer. New York, 1907. The excellent copy by Herring is now owned by Mr. Rogers Caldwell of Nashville, Tennessee.

⁷ *Life and Works of Thomas Sully* by Biddle and Fielding.

ing September, while he was engaged on the New York City Hall portrait.

A portrait of Decatur by Charles Bird King, which shows the influence of Sully, hangs in the Redwood Library of Newport, Rhode Island. King, a native of that city, had a studio in Philadelphia in 1812 and then moved to Washington in 1816. He painted other naval officers, among them being John Rodgers who was one of Decatur's most intimate friends.

Another very distinguished artist who painted Decatur even earlier than Sully did was Gilbert Stuart. He made at least two different portraits of Decatur, which are almost duplicates. According to Lawrence Park,⁸ the artist portrayed Decatur's eyes as well as his sidewhiskers and hair as dark brown. This is interesting, as authorities have been in disagreement as to the color of these features. After the Commodore's death Mrs. Decatur gave the portrait of her husband by Stuart, which she particularly prized, to Colonel John Pine Decatur, Stephen's younger brother. He bequeathed it to his daughter Anna Pine Decatur, who became the wife of William H. Parsons. Their son William Decatur Parsons inherited the portrait, which, after his death in 1930, went by special bequest to the National Gallery of Art in Washington. This undoubtedly is an authentic Stuart painted from life. Two stipple engravings have been made from this portrait, one by David Edwin which first appeared in the *Analectic Magazine* of June, 1813 and another by Thomas Gimbrede which, first reproduced in the *Biography of Naval Heroes* published by John Low, has puzzled some who did not recognize that it was a mirrored reversal of the portrait.

The other portrait of Decatur which Lawrence Park states to have been painted by Stuart was presented by Mrs. Decatur after her husband's death to John Randolph of Roanoke as an evidence of "affection and appreciation"⁹ for his assistance in the attempt to secure for her from Congress her husband's part of the unpaid prize money for the destruction of the *Philadelphia*. Randolph had been, moreover, one of Decatur's most intimate friends. At the death of the eccentric Virginian in 1833, the portrait went by bequest to his namesake John Randolph Bryan, from whom it was inherited by the present owner, Dr. Robert C. Bryan of Richmond, Virginia. This portrait, as does the one now in the National Gallery, portrays Decatur's bust, three-quarter left, with his brown eyes directed to the spectator. "His curly hair," continues Park,¹⁰ "is brown as are his

⁸ *Life of Gilbert Stuart*. New York, 1926.

⁹ Letter of June 27, 1936, from Dr. Robert C. Bryan.

¹⁰ *Life of Gilbert Stuart* by Lawrence Park.

sidewhiskers. He wears a white standing collar, a high-collared black coat with brass buttons, a black stock and white lace frill projecting from his coat and a white waistcoat shows at the bottom of the picture. The background is warm with flame-colored smoke at the left."

The Harry Stone Bookshop of New York City owns a portrait of Decatur which is claimed to have been painted by Stuart. It is said to have been given by Decatur to Dr. Bullus and to have remained in that family until recent years. It is now on loan in the Museum of the U. S. Naval Academy. There are several copies of Stuart's Decatur. One of these is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and belongs to the Charles Allen Munn Collection, which was bequeathed to the Museum in 1924. It is thought to have been painted by Trumbull, "some of the earmarks of whose style, such as the use of black in the flesh painting, are here noticeable."¹¹ The portrait was owned by Commodore John Rodgers, Commodore M. C. Perry, and Mrs. Henry Fairfield Osborn (Loulu Perry) before passing into the ownership of Charles Allen Munn.¹² A copy by an unknown artist, which was reproduced in Mahan's *War of 1812*, is in Independence Hall, Philadelphia. Georgetown University in Washington owns a copy by Simpson who made a questionable improvement by attaching to Decatur's uniform the insignia of the Order of the Cincinnati. Still another, which was painted for Stephen Decatur, nephew of the Commodore, and was exhibited in 1863 at the Boston Athenaeum, now belongs to the heirs of Stephen Decatur of Kittery Point, Maine; while the family of Mrs. Roland Morris¹³ of Philadelphia owns two copies by unknown artists.

A handsome vigorous portrait of Decatur is the one by John Wesley Jarvis, great nephew of the great religious leader, which hangs in Memorial Hall at the U. S. Naval Academy. It was presented by Stephen Price, Esquire, on November 5, 1839, to the Naval Lyceum, Brooklyn, New York, whence it passed later with many other gifts from that institution to the Naval Academy. Two engravings of it have been made, one by Henry Meyer, whose original copper plate is in the Naval Academy Museum and another by J. W. Cook which was published in London by R. Bentley in 1839. A copy of the latter is in the Naval History Society in New York. A small stipple rectangular engraving, 2.14" x 2.4", which includes a frame with a ring similar to those often attached to miniatures, was made

¹¹ *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum* for January, 1925.

¹² Letter of June 12, 1936, from the Assistant Curator of the Metropolitan Museum.

¹³ Mrs. Morris' daughter, Mrs. Machold, owns the original portrait by Stuart of Susan Decatur, wife of the Commodore.

by Pekenino and printed by J. Lingg. It is not known whether Jarvis painted a miniature of Decatur, and this little engraving may have been made from the full size portrait or from one of the engravings of it, though the engraving of the frame and ring as a part of it is rather puzzling. An interesting portrait preserved only in the engraving of it by Goodman and Piggot, published in 1820 in Philadelphia, bears the title, "Painted by Mrs. Plantou a few days before his [Decatur's] death." But its close resemblance to the Meyer engraving after Jarvis indicates that it almost certainly was not painted from life.

There are four other portraits of Decatur, now known only from engravings of them. One ascribed to G. Strickland as painter and J. O. Lewis as engraver has been reproduced as a frontispiece in Mantle Fielding's *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel*. This stipple engraving, 11.6" x 8.4", portrays Decatur in dress uniform, hat in hand, standing on the deck of a ship and leaning on his sword. It is undoubtedly a contemporary print and an exceedingly interesting one. According to Stauffer,¹⁴ an aquatint rectangular, 5.14" x 7.8", engraving of Decatur was designed and aquatinted by William Strickland and published by John Kneass of Philadelphia. It is a bust engraving in profile of Decatur in uniform; below are olive branches and a ribbon with the words: "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights." Another contemporary portrait was ascribed to L. White as painter on an engraving by M. Osborn, who is said to have been in Baltimore in 1812 and in Philadelphia in 1820. John R. Spears in *Our Navy* (Vol. I, p. 347) has confused the Gimbrede engraving after Gilbert Stuart with the one by Osborn. The last of the four is the widely known engraving by G. R. Hall of the portrait by Alonzo Chappel. This portrait, now owned by the Chicago Historical Society, was not painted until many years after Decatur's death, and shows the influence chiefly of Sully. The original painting by Chappel of Decatur's hand to hand fight with the Tripolitan captain is owned by Chester Dale of New York.

Three unsigned engravings of portraits of Decatur will be briefly considered. One of these has the distinction of being the only likeness of Decatur to be published in England. It was issued in London in 1815 by Whittle and Laurie. A copy is in the Naval History Society in New York. The artist seems to have depended largely on his imagination, though the engraving bears a slight resemblance to authentic portraits of Decatur. It is a bust engraving, in which the length of Decatur's nose and the curliness of his hair are exaggerated.

¹⁴ *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel* by David M. Stauffer.

Another, described by Mantle Fielding as a stipple rectangular, 11.12" x 15.9", engraving, displays an urn with a medallion portrait of Decatur, which is the center of various moral and military symbolic emblems, below which is this inscription: "Sacred to the Memory of Com. Stephen Decatur, Late of the U. S. Navy. To the Citizens of the United States this Print is most respectfully inscribed by their humble Servant, Joseph How." A third engraving of a bust portrait, slightly resembling Decatur, is one copyrighted in 1875 by Virtue and Yorston.

In conclusion, a few miscellaneous items will probably be of interest. Charles Wellington Furlong owns a crude portrait of Decatur painted by one of the Commodore's sailors on wood taken from the *Macedonian*. It portrays Decatur holding a sword and wearing a cocked hat and epaulettes; underneath are painted the words: "The Commodore Decatur." Arthur Sussel, dealer in antiques in Philadelphia, has a small Staffordshire jug, height 4½", which has the portrait bust of Decatur, copied from the Stuart painting, surrounded by flags and cannon, on one side; while on the other is a portrait of Captain Lawrence. The only sculptor who has portrayed Decatur is George T. Brewster, still living, who, prepared a very pleasing small statue of Decatur as one of the naval figures in the Dewey Arch which was temporarily erected in Madison Square, New York, in honor of Admiral Dewey's return after the close of the Spanish-American War. A rather extraordinary anchor medallion made of iron is in the U. S. Naval Academy Museum. According to Howland Wood,¹⁵ Curator of the American Numismatic Society, to whom a photograph of the strange item was sent for identification, "The portrait is not of Decatur but of Napoleon. I am enclosing a rubbing of the Napoleonic medal from which this was made. Ours is a brass shell, made to insert in a box, cabinet, or small piece of furniture, which was a common practise in those days. If you notice your medal carefully, you will see the name of Buonaparte has been removed from the truncation of the shoulder and Commodore Decatur has evidently been added to the medal, presumably by soldering the letters on. This you can easily tell. There is no doubt that this anchor piece is contemporary as the Napoleonic medal was made between 1800 and 1803." What it was used for is by no means clear. Could it have been attached with other similar ones to the coffin or pall or been connected in some other way with Decatur's funeral? This would explain, at least, the evident haste in its preparation.

Now after looking at the various portraits of Decatur, what com-

¹⁵ In a letter of February 19, 1937, to the Curator, U. S. Naval Academy Museum.

posite picture does one form of his appearance? There would be general agreement perhaps that he was a man slightly above the average in height, with a slender and graceful figure and broad shoulders. The features of his head were striking; the ears, eyes, slightly aquiline nose, and mouth were all large but well proportioned. There was intelligence, alertness, sensitiveness, fearlessness, and reserve power written all over his face. A slight suggestion of the dandy appeared in his dress and in the manner in which his hair was worn; in other words, one sees a man who took pride in his personal appearance. As one looks more intently at his face and figure one begins to sense the magnetism of his compelling personality and the charm of his character, which made men gladly follow his lead and obey his commands, whatever danger threatened, and which also made him a favorite in society as the Bayard of the Navy without fear and without reproach.

United States Naval Academy.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AMERICAN IMPRINTS IN THE SOCIETY'S DIELMAN COLLECTION OF MUSIC

By WILLIAM TREAT UPTON

In gathering material for a new and enlarged edition of Oscar G. Sonneck's *Bibliography of Early Secular American Music* (originally published in 1905) my journeyings throughout the United States brought me a few months ago to Baltimore—to the Maryland Historical Society's collection of early American musical imprints. As the field covered in Sonneck's *Bibliography* is strictly limited to the eighteenth century, I was overjoyed to find in the large collection gathered together by Louis H. Dielman (and bearing his name), together with the small but choice collection presented by Caroline R. Hollyday, a rich assortment of the very issues I was looking for. I suppose I should have expected something of the sort if I had taken more largely into account the fact that the Carr family of Philadelphia and Baltimore¹ issued probably more material of just this sort and at just this time than any other music publishing firm in America. No wonder then that I had found in the Edward I. Keffer Collection at the Free Library of Philadelphia (with its valuable material handed down from the venerable Musical Fund Society of that city) and now no less in the Louis H. Dielman Collection at the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore, a finely representative group of these eighteenth century imprints.

Naturally enthusiastic over such a find, I accepted with pleasure the invitation of the Maryland Historical Society to write for this magazine something about these eighteenth century American issues of secular music as found in the Dielman collection. This I was particularly glad to do, as it makes possible an expression of my own personal appreciation of Mr. Dielman's great service in forming such a collection. Would that every historical society were as well and generously served!

As I have said, it is natural that the eighteenth century portion of this collection should be predominantly given over to Carr publi-

¹ Benjamin Carr, a young English musician of twenty-four, came to America early in 1793, to be followed in a few months by his father, Joseph Carr, and a brother, Thomas. Benjamin made his permanent home in Philadelphia, while his father (and later, his brother) maintained a music store and publishing house in Baltimore. All three became well known publishers: Benjamin, in Philadelphia until about 1800, when he left the publishing field for an active career as composer and performer; Joseph, in Baltimore for a quarter of a century, then Thomas, until about 1850.

The Carr family will always be remembered with deep respect for their pioneering efforts in the development of music in America.

cations, although other contemporary music publishers are represented—thus together presenting an excellent cross section of musical tastes and interests in America in the 1790's, that decade in which music publishing in the United States, on a reasonably large scale and representing varied types, really began.

Happily we have no need to be ashamed of the musical taste of our forebears as here disclosed. These songs were the same as those sung by our cousins in London; and these same pieces for harpsichord or piano were as diligently strummed there as here: Sonatas by Pleyel, the *Andante* from Haydn's *Surprise Symphony*, arranged for piano (or harpsichord), pieces by Boccherini and Thomas Haigh (the latter less known to us than the others) and Michael Kelly's popular *March* from *Blue Beard*. Probably less known in England than here were such numbers as this arrangement of *Lord Alexander Gordon's Reel* by George C. Schetky of Philadelphia; the *President's March*, now recognized to have been composed by Philip Phile of the same city; an anonymous set of variations on *Yankee Doodle*; and *Linley's Assistant for the Pianoforte*. Of these last three titles I shall have more to say later.

Few in number as compared with the far more numerous songs, the quality of these instrumental pieces is none the less excellent throughout. There is nothing cheap or commonplace about them. But their comparative rarity in America during the eighteenth century is still further emphasized by the fact that over half of those mentioned above were issued in Carr's *Musical Journal for the Pianoforte* (Baltimore) during the one year, 1800, and thus barely enter our field.

When we come to the songs, however, we find an entirely different story—not at all in regard to their quality (here again we echo London) but rather in their far greater number. And it is through study of this particular group that we are able to draw a fairly accurate picture of the musical culture of the America of that day.

It is not my purpose in this paper to go into technical bibliographical details. But it is clear that if we note all the various contemporary imprints of any particular composition, and then ascertain how many copies (in all its various forms) have survived, we shall thus be able to form a very fair estimate of its contemporary popularity as compared with other similar publications; noting particularly whether the different imprints themselves were more or less scattered, and whether the surviving copies have also been found in fairly widely separated regions. Of course all sorts of puzzles may result from this statistical research. For instance: which is more important

for our purpose—to find eight copies of one issue in scattered sections of the country, or two copies each of four different imprints of the same composition, equally or even less widely scattered? It is rather a nice question!

But all these problems aside (which so beset the conscientious student of a culture that is past) I still feel that it is possible for us to fashion a picture of the musical taste and culture of those days which shall prove essentially authentic.

In broad outline, as visualized through this collection, our picture deals primarily with songs—especially the songs of those stalwart English composers, Hook, Arnold, Shield, Storace and Spofforth in the order named, dropping sharply from the thirteen songs by Hook to the five by Arnold, four by Shield, three each by Storace and Spofforth; with scattered individual songs by Attwood, Dibdin, Mrs. Jordan, Mazzinghi (or Reeve), Naegeli, Piercy, Relfe and Sanderson. There are four songs by the popular Irish composer, Michael Kelly, two by the Italian Paisiello, one by Giordani, and one by Mozart.

It is pleasant to find America itself also well represented. And it is eminently appropriate that John B. Gauline, “Native of Marseilles and long a respectable citizen of Baltimore” should lead his adopted country (and indeed all the rest) with fourteen songs. Benjamin Carr follows with four, Raynor Taylor, three, James Hewitt, Alexander Reinagle and W. Langdon, one each. All in all a distinguished group. For Carr, Reinagle, Hewitt and Taylor represented the best of American creative musical ability at this time. And Gauline, while apparently known only hereabouts, shows in these fourteen songs that he can hold his own with his more distinguished colleagues. Langdon is quite unknown.

Our picture embraces also some fourteen songs of unknown authorship. This situation was far from uncommon in the America of those days—no less so in London itself. Much of the music of the eighteenth century (both in America and England) is still shrouded in anonymity.

It is absolutely authentic and true to our picture, that we find James Hook (with the sole exception of the Baltimorean Gauline) leading all his competitors in the number and distribution of his songs. This was as true of the country at large (England, too) as it was of Baltimore. Our perspective at this point is correctly drawn. Barring only *The Cheering Rosary* by William Shield, with its three different American imprints, copies of which I have found in twelve different locations, and Carr's *The Little Sailorboy*, with four different imprints and fifteen different locations (both of these being exceptional

cases) we find Hook's songs holding the highest average in both respects. His well known *Rise, Cynthia, Rise* with four imprints and fourteen locations; *Lucy, or Selim's Complaint*, six imprints, fifteen locations, are typical of the extraordinary popularity of his songs.

If it seems almost surprising (but yet not entirely out of the picture) that Shield and Storace should be so modestly represented, it is well nigh inexplicable that we find only one song by Charles Dibdin. I have but one possible explanation. Dibdin was especially popular for his sea songs, and other songs of a jovial, humorous character. Our only song here, *Poor Tom Bowling*, is one of his more serious songs, inspired by the death of his brother, Captain Thomas Dibdin. Is it not possible, then, that Baltimore was merely exercising a discriminating good taste!

It is an interesting fact (in light of the above) that we find here all four of the Spofforth songs that were published in America during this period (all of them popular everywhere), viz., *The Death of Crazy Jane*, *Ellen, the Richmond Primrose Girl*, *The Woodrobin*, and the duet, *Hark the Goddess Diana*. Can it be that Baltimore had suddenly become three parts sentimental and one part classical? No wonder poor Dibdin fared so ill!

That Mozart is only once represented, need not disturb us unduly. Appreciation of his music was only beginning at this time in America, while Haydn was well known and enjoyed. This one duet of Mozart's, however, *Away with Melancholy*, arranged from his opera, *The Magic Flute*, was very popular.

Arnold's five songs were thoroughly representative—true to the prevailing English type.

In the American group we note first the fourteen songs by John B. Gauline, nine of them published in a collection: *Nine New Songs. Written by a Young Gentleman of Maryland. The Music by I. B. Gauline. Printed for the Author and Sold by R. Shaw, No. 13 South Fourth Street, Philadelphia, and J. Carr's, Gay Street, Baltimore.* This collection was published at about the turn of the century. I know but one other copy, owned by J. Francis Driscoll of Brookline, Massachusetts. While as we have said, Gauline's songs seem to have enjoyed little more than a local popularity, I have seen one of them, *The American Soldier*, in the New York Public Library, and another, *Crazy Emma*, "the words by a lady of Queen Ann's County," as far from home as the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. The Library of Congress, also, has copies of several of these songs.

Langdon's one song, *The Primrose*, was "printed for the author" in Philadelphia in 1795. This is the only copy of the only song by Langdon that I have ever seen or heard of.

Benjamin Carr was probably the most prolific, as well as the best schooled, of all our earliest American composers. While his best work came after 1800 and so lies outside our present discussion, the four eighteenth century titles found here include (as already noted) *The Little Sailorboy*, easily the best known of his earlier songs (1798). I have seen this particular issue in at least ten different locations, and there is even a holograph copy in the Keffer Collection in the Free Library of Philadelphia, inscribed to a "Mrs. Mann, with the composer's compts," all in Carr's own hand. However it must be admitted that it is a far cry from the sentimental mediocrity of this early song to the really finished artistry of such songs as his *Hymn to the Virgin (Ave Maria)*, published in 1810—a song which despite its undue length and tendency towards a certain Italianate coloratura, is as fresh and spontaneous today as when it was written over a century and a quarter ago.

The other three songs by Carr are found in *The Musical Journal for the Pianoforte*, edited by him and published in Baltimore by his father, Joseph Carr. They all appeared in the first volume (1800) of this important publication, excellently represented here by some dozen numbers.

Of the three songs by Raynor Taylor, *While the Morn is Inviting to Love* was the most popular and is found in some seven different locations. Equally popular were Alexander Reinagle's song, *Rosa*, and James Hewitt's *The Wounded Hussar* (both 1800).

In the group of anonymous songs we find some of the best known songs of the day, including "the favorite Welch air, *Owen*" (always spelled Welch!) issued by four different publishers and found in thirteen different locations—this particular Carr imprint in nine of them. So that we can scarcely call it a rarity! Another popular song found here is *Major Andre's Complaint* (1794), also a Carr imprint with seven locations.

However not all of our collection consists of popular and more or less common issues. It has its own rarities, its own historically interesting items.

To the latter class belongs the copy of Philip Phile's *President's March*, the original melody of *Hail Columbia*, which was adapted to those words and first published under that name in 1798. Here is not the fitting place for a long technical discussion as to what may have been the first edition of this *President's March*. Suffice it to say that the issue found here is one of two (less probably, four) fair claimants to that honor. Its imprint, "Carr & Co.," places it in Philadelphia somewhere between midsummer of 1793 and the fall

of 1794. A copy found only at the Library of Congress, with no imprint, but which from internal evidence seems to have been published by Moller and Capron in Philadelphia sometime in 1793, challenges its priority. In point of fact, Sonneck considered this challenge as justified. However, although in the case of the Carr & Co. imprint, there seems to be somewhat greater latitude as to the possible date of its publication, a fact which might conceivably militate against its claims, I feel that the greater simplicity of its musical arrangement and the general character of the imprint, point toward an earlier issue than that of Moller and Capron. But we can't be sure.

Strangely enough this Carr and Co. imprint, early as it is, is not at all uncommon, being found in at least six locations. It is interesting, too, that the Dielman collection contains some half dozen of these various early "Carr & Co." issues.

Another valuable historical item is the song, *Huzza for the Constellation*, of which I know only four copies. It is one of those sea-fight narratives so dear to the English heart and no less so to us in our early days. "The ninth at noon a sail in view"—"At three P. M. to hail she tried"—"At four P. M. her flag abaft Was struck to the Constellation" and so on. "The ninth" refers to February 9, 1799, when the American frigate *Constellation* met the French *Insurgente* in mortal combat in the Caribbean. The *Constellation* was built in Baltimore under the watchful eye of Captain Thomas Truxton, who was later to win so brilliant a victory as her commander. The Maryland Historical Society does well to place a framed copy of this song on its walls. Incidentally, the vignette of the two fighting ships directly above the title, is a delightful example of eighteenth century American engraving.

There is a variant edition, entitled: *Captⁿ Truxton* [!] or *Huzza for the Constellation*, with essentially identical music, but different text, and without the vignette. This issue is still rarer, only two copies being known to me—at the Library of Congress, and in the collection of Malcolm N. Stone, West Englewood, New Jersey.

The title, however, which perhaps best combines both rarity and historical interest is: *Yankee Doodle. An Original American Air with Variations for the Pianoforte. Sold at Carr's Musical Repository's Philadelphia & N. York & I. Carr, Baltimore.* Published in 1796, this is in all probability the earliest extant American issue of this famous melody. Thirty-five years ago Sonneck hunted for it in vain. Even now I know of only three copies. And two of the three are here. An embarrassment of riches indeed! In fact, doesn't it

seem a bit miserly? The third copy is in the Keffer Collection at the Free Library of Philadelphia.

Not so interesting historically, but even more rare, in that we have here the *only* known copy is: *Linley's Assistant for the Pianoforte. A New Edition*, advertised Sept. 30, 1796, as printed and sold by J. Carr, Baltimore. Under the earlier date of Aug. 6, 1796, the *Federal Gazette* of Baltimore had advertised among recent musical publications: *A New Assistant for the Pianoforte or Harpsichord . . . Compil'd, Compos'd and Arrang'd by F. Linley, Organist of Pentonville*, and published by J. Carr, Baltimore.

These two editions, published at so nearly the same time and practically identical, vary in one important respect. In the August edition, pages 11 to 21 contain six sonatas for pianoforte by Benjamin Carr. In the September issue these sonatas disappear entirely and in their place we find twenty-four "lessons" for the pianoforte (instead of the twelve found in the other edition) followed by a miscellaneous group of well known songs. One wonders why the Carr sonatas were withdrawn from what seems to have been their only publication and these lessons and songs substituted—the latter easily available at any music store. A puzzle which probably will never be solved.

Of the earlier work (with the Carr sonatas) four copies are known; of the *New Edition*, only this one.

There are other issues as well, of which I know no copy except the one here. They are important only through this quality of uniqueness. As such may be listed: *Crazy Lain* by Gauline, published by G. Willig, Philadelphia about 1800; *The Primrose* by Langdon (already noted); an edition of *Happy Tawny Moor*, from *The Mountaineers* by Samuel Arnold, published by B. Carr, New York & Philadelphia & J. Carr, Baltimore, in 1796 (unique in that it lacks the usual third page, numbered 66); and *Within a Mile of Edinborough*, by James Hook, a reprint of page 55 of *The Gentleman's Amusement* (B. Carr, Philadelphia and New York, J. Carr, Baltimore) also 1796.

There are a few items which are shared with only one other location, the most important of these being the variations on *Yankee Doodle* and the collection of Gauline songs, both already mentioned. This collection also shares with the Library of Congress alone the possession of certain items: such as H. Piercy's song, *The Beggar Girl* (without imprint and paged 6 to 8), obviously a reprint from some as yet unidentified collection; also, James Sanderson's *The Cottage on the Moor*, which though again without imprint, seems to be a Carr issue, presumably the one advertised under this title by

the *Federal Gazette*, Baltimore, in November, 1800, as "just published."

There may be other similarly rare and unusual items, but it behooves one to be cautious in saying so.

Any such judgment of mine as expressed in this paper, is based upon a personal examination of some twenty important public, and half a dozen important private collections, throughout the country. But even so, there is always the dreaded chance that one's nearest neighbor may come forward and in that devastatingly casual manner, so characteristic of such occasions, remark, "Nonsense! I have a copy of that very thing in my attic at home." I suppose this never-to-be escaped danger may be salutary in teaching one that if generalizations are never safe, such "specializations" as these may prove even less so! ²

One statement however I make bold to utter without fear of question or challenge (and I dare my next door neighbor to do his worst!) namely, that the Louis H. Dielman Collection of Music is a collection in which the Maryland Historical Society may well take just pride.

² The absolute appositeness of these remarks is attested by the fact that while reading proofs of this very article I received word from our esteemed "neighbor," the John Carter Brown Library of Providence, Rhode Island, that they had just acquired (among other things) a copy of *Within a Mile of Edinborough*—the identical imprint which I had noted here as an only copy.

Sic transit gloria!

A TRIP TO WASHINGTON IN 1811

Contributed by THOMAS W. KEMP

The following letters graphically depicting the conditions surrounding life in our national capital during the administration of President Madison are taken from the papers of Andrew Shriver (1762-1847) and family of Union Mills, Big Pipe Creek, Carroll County (at that date part of Frederick County), Maryland. These letters and documents present not only an intimate and detailed history of this family from 1785 to 1847, but reveal many incidents of general historical value. The collection, consisting of considerably more than 1,000 items, has recently been systematically sorted and filed, and is retained in the Andrew Shriver homestead which is still in possession of the family.

Andrew Shriver of Union Mills was the eldest son of David Shriver (1735-1826), of Little Pipe Creek, near Westminster, who was an outstanding patriot of Revolutionary days, a member of the first Constitutional Convention of Maryland, and for 30 years a representative of what was then Frederick County in the Legislature.

The grandfather of Andrew Shriver of Union Mills was Andrew Shriver (1712-1797) of the Conewago settlement in Pennsylvania, a native of Alsenborn, Germany, who is said to have been the first white settler in what is now Adams County, Pennsylvania.

In 1811 the family of Andrew and Elizabeth (Shultz) Shriver (1766-1839) was complete. They had been married 25 years and living at Union Mills, on Big Pipe Creek, about 5 miles south of the Maryland-Pennsylvania line, for 14 years. The 11 children, excepting John S., were all under the rooftree. They were aged as follows: John S., 23; Thomas, 22; Rebecca, 21; Matilda, 19; James, 17; William, 15; Eliza, 12; Andrew K., 9; Anna Maria, 7; Joseph, 5; Catharine, 3. John S. and Thomas were born at the Little Pipe Creek Homestead of their grandfather David Shriver; Rebecca, Matilda, James and William at Petersboro (now Littlestown), Pennsylvania; the five younger children at Union Mills.

It is evident that at this time Andrew Shriver was much concerned as to the future of his family, particularly the boys. John S. was in Baltimore, but according to the letters he was not yet settled as to a career. A trip to Washington was made by Andrew primarily in the interest of his brother David Shriver, Jr. (1769-1852), but it can be deduced from the letters that in the back of his head Andrew

believed the establishment of David, Jr. in Government work would open opportunities for his own sons. And this proved to be the case. The trip to Washington determined not only the future of his brother David, Jr. but of his sons Thomas, James and Joseph, all of whom engaged in engineering work on the National Road for the Government.

This journey starts from Frederick, where Andrew went to confer with his brother Judge Abraham Shriver (1771-1848), of the Fifth Judicial District of Maryland. Affectionately addressing his wife as "Betsy," Andrew writes as follows:

Friday, Feb. 8, 1811.

Dear Betsy:

I have been induced to go on to the City of Washington. The object of the journey will be explained to you by David. When I shall return I cannot say. If I shall be obliged to stay there any time I shall write from that place.

As it is very likely I shall return thro Balto., send a memd. to John of what may be wanting and I will purchase them as I return that way. I am a good deal uneasy for fear of James neglecting the mill & feeding. I have written in strong language to Tommy. Say what you think needful to James.

I go on David's business which I was induced to consent to under a distinct expectation that I might possibly thereby, in some way be able to do something for John. My stay will depend on the situation of things. How long I can't say. My present expectations are not longer than next week. . . . I leave my horse & go on the stage. Abm. will send the horse by some neighbor.

My Dear Betsy,

Afy. yrs.

And. Shriver.

After three days sojourn in Washington Andrew writes:

Washington City, Tuesday, 12, Feby., 1811.

Dear Betsy:

I arrived at this place on Saty. evening after a very unpleasant ride in the Stage thro the worst roads I ever saw, in a very weak state, having had a purging & vomiting on the road that weakened me much. I kept the house on Sunday & by the use of flaxseed tea & toast water I was capable of being about on Monday & had the pleasure of being introduced to all the leading characters on the Repn. side, and was by Mr. Montgomery (who is brother-in-law to Mr. Galatan¹) invited to his lodgings at Mr. Galatan's where I was received into the family room & took tea with them, Mr. and Mrs. Galatan, Mr. and Mrs. Montgomery and a few of the members being present. I have been invited to dine to-day by Mr. McKim.² Having already seen all the great men of the Nation now here (the President excepted) I am agreeably disappointed in finding them sociable in the extreme. I feel totally without restraint & as much at my ease in their company as if old acquaintances, and

¹ Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury 1801-1813.

² Alexander McKim, Representative from Maryland, 1809-1815.

I have got to know by sight all the members of the Senate so as to know who speaks, &c. In the other house I have not yet been while business was on hand & as there are 140 members there (& but 34 in the Senate) it will not be as easy to know all the leading men in it.

The Capitol is on a piece of high ground & the members of both Houses lodge in perhaps 50 deft. places $\frac{1}{4}$ to 3 miles distant. They all come and go in carriages. If you want to go to either you must take a hack, as it is mud half leg deep in this open weather. The expenses are great. If you go but half a mile the hacks charge 50 cents. Break't & sup'r, 50 cents each; dinner, 75; lodg., 25; beside which you are charged for fire & club [?] at dinner. If a servant brushes your coat he will expect at least 25. I see when gentlemen go away they are paraded and expect to receive from 25 to 1.00, in proportion to the generosity of the lodger & the time he has been at the house.

I could not have hit upon a more interesting time to be here on account of politics, nor a most disagreeable one on account of the weather. It is mud up to the door everywhere, and if you attempt to walk out your feet are afterwards uncomfortable for the whole day, & you feel awkward in a handsome room where everything is clean and neat.

I can't yet say when I shall start home & for David's business I refer you to himself to whom I have wrote fully on the subject.

This letter was not mailed on the above date, but was continued as follows:

Wed'y ev., $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 o'clock. I write this to inform you that I have got perfectly well, thanks to a kind God for his mercies. I was afraid when I wrote the enclosed to say how bad I was for fear of alarming you. It was such an attack as I had at home of the bilious colic, but so much worse that I fainted away & fell down in the passage of the tavern & was carried to bed. But I had My perfect senses, took care of my self & am (I repeat it) thank God, perfectly well. I can add nothing to this that will be interesting to you, except what I wrote in David's letter. I am treated with all the respect I can possibly pretend to look for. I have dined to-day by invitation with about 20 reps., among whom was the Att'y Genl. of the U. S., Mr. Rodney, Col. Troup, Gov'r Wright, Gen'l Bradley, Col. Porter, &c., &c.

I shall stay 'till David comes on. Things can't be satisfactorily fixed without he does. I expect he may be here by Sunday or Monday at the farthest, & that I will return to Balto. with him by the middle of next week . . .

I hope & trust Thomas and James will act the part of men. It is on their and John's acct. I have principally come here, thinking I could perhaps see something which could one day turn to their advantage by making myself well acquainted with the state of things here & forming an acquaintance with the leading men of the Rep'n Party in the United States.

I therefore hope & trust that they will act the part of men at home while I am doing all I can for them abroad.

God bless you all & preserve you in health till my return, is the wish of your aff'e

Husband,

Andrew Shriver.

I will only add that I was invited to the President's Drawing Room to-night, but my dress would not well pass there. It may do among men. Say little about these things. It may do among ourselves, but should go no further.

Having laid the groundwork for the appointment of his brother, David Shriver, Jr., as superintendent of the National Road, Andrew awaited his arrival in Washington. However, on account of business and domestic difficulties, David, Jr. was unable to go, and so wrote to Andrew:

Westminster, Saturday, after night, 16 Feb.

Dr. Brother:

I this moment recd. your letter. Am sorry to hear of your bad health, &c. It is impossible for me to go to Washington. While at Frederick, Eve³ was taken sick while alone, fell against the stove and lay there in that way until she came to, with her face immediately against the plate. She burned herself in a shocking manner. . . . It is impossible to say how bad the wound will be as yet, but at best is shocking in the extreme. But if this was not in the way I could not go. . . . Indeed fifty things more make it impossible which is not necessary to relate. . . . If I could go what purpose would it answer? If they have a mind to appoint me they can do so, if otherwise they may let it alone. I do not think I have been well treated already and should their business go on in the same way should be glad to have nothing to do with it. You will act as you please, but I would rather that you would not trouble yourself more, but let them do as they please. I conceive it is as much their interest as mine, and I be d——d if I beg for it, nor will I serve them for less than I told Mr. G.⁴ This fumbling work I do not like. . . .

It is useless for me to say more. I know you are acquainted with it all, and I only mention it to convince you that I do not view the appointment so desirable as my friends do.

I am affectionately yours,

David Shriver, Jr.

Undaunted by the indifference of his brother, Andrew Shriver goes from Washington to Baltimore to meet David, Jr. at the meeting of the board of directors of the Baltimore & Reisterstown Turnpike Road Company, and thus writes home:

Balto., Monday, Feb'y 25, 1811.

My Dear Betsy:

I arrived here last eve. in the stage from Washington and recd. from John your welcome letter and was very much pleased to hear that all was going on so well at home. I have also the pleasure to inform you that I nearly quite

³ Eve (Sherman) Shriver, wife of David Shriver, Jr.

⁴ Secretary of the Treasury Gallatin.

recovered from the attack of bilious colic with which I was so severely visited and which I was very much afraid of as I had before experienced the effects at home and dreaded it much there where I was surrounded only with negro waiters.

I shall be obliged to stay here and meet David on Friday next (when he comes down to meet the board). But for that I would be up with the stage on Wed'd, for I never was much more desirous to be at home and I assure you the pleasure of the society of my family and the enjoyment of my own fireside, humble as it is, far, very far, exceeds all the tinsel and ornament & parade of the great world. But I cannot complain for I was everywhere treated with most distinguished respect, far exceeding my expectations. But the journey from Fred'k to Washington & from there here has been intolerable. None of the road paved & mud up to the axletree every step. Travelling in a market wagon is quite as expeditious and far more comfortable. . . .

I have been induced to stay at Washington much longer than I intended on acct. of David's business, as well as with a view to pave the way for doing something for the boys. I have got intimately acquainted with all the Heads of Departments and the leading Rep'n members in both Houses of Congress. I have seen the President several times & was at Madam Madison's to tea, where I was introduced to all the foreign ministers & saw all the most distinguished ladies of the Nation, and what is more, nearly half naked. But it has been a very expensive trip. There is mud every step up to the instep. In that condition, of course, a hack is constantly wanted & you could easily spend \$10 a day only on hack hire. Mr. McKim and myself paid \$4 for one from his lodgings to the President's.

I hope Thomas & James will not neglect matters, at least Thomas who is the elder & ought to supply my place. What I have done was done with a view to their advantage, not for my gratification. . . . I shall with much pleasure turn my face towards home the first moment in my power & in the mean time Dr. Betsy, with affection yours,

Andrew Shriver.

There are many other letters and documents in the collection bearing on this visit of Andrew Shriver to Washington, but those quoted above give the local color of that day.

Among the papers preserved, for instance, is a memorandum by David Shriver, Jr., setting forth with great technical detail the requirements for the proper construction of paved roads and the best methods of letting contracts therefor. Undoubtedly the experience and professional ability revealed in this memorandum finally prompted Secretary of the Treasury Gallatin to appoint him Superintendent of Construction of the National Road. There are also letters from the wife and sons of Andrew Shriver reporting home affairs. Even his tavern bills were retained.

This record would not be complete without further reference to those whose lives were influenced through what was accomplished

by Andrew Shriver on his visit to Washington. There is, therefore, appended a brief outline of their lives:⁵

David Shriver, Jr. (1769-1852), brother of Andrew Shriver of Union Mills, was originally associated with the latter in the founding of Union Mills. He relinquished his interest to become superintendent of location and construction of the Reisterstown turnpike. Upon appointment as Superintendent of Construction of the National Road he moved to Cumberland in 1812. Afterwards he was commissioned by the Government to survey the extension of the National Road to St. Louis, Mo. Relinquishing this position, he was appointed by the President on the Board of Public Works, upon which he served with distinction for a number of years. He finally settled in Wheeling, W. Va. He married Eve Sherman, of Westminster. They had three sons and one daughter.

Thomas Shriver (1789-1879), second son of Andrew Shriver, was a colorful and ingenious character. In early manhood he was engaged in the lumber business in York, Pa., at which time he raised a company of militia for the defense of Baltimore in 1814. He was an inventive genius and conceived and applied the elliptic spring for use on horse-drawn vehicles. He was associated with his brother, Joseph, in projecting the route of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad, the result being the adoption of plans submitted by them for crossing the Gunpowder and Bush rivers by the use of pile bridges. He moved to Cumberland in 1834, was mayor of the city for several terms and was interested in numerous enterprises, including a stage company for western travel. In 1853 he established an omnibus line in Philadelphia. He finally moved to New York and organized the firm of T. Shriver & Co., founders, which proved a profitable business for several generations. He married Ann E. Sharpe, of York, Pa., and had five sons and five daughters.

James Shriver (1794-1826), third son of Andrew Shriver, became an assistant to his uncle David in the location of the National Road. In 1824 he made preliminary surveys for the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, perfecting maps and estimates for its construction. In 1825 he was appointed Government Chief of the Brigade of Engineers to survey and locate the mountain division of the canal. He was further commissioned in 1826 to survey for the Wabash Canal in Indiana. He was stricken with typhus fever and died at Fort Wayne, thus cutting short what promised to be a brilliant career as an

⁵ See *History of the Shriver Family and Their Connections, 1684-1888*, compiled and edited by Samuel S. Shriver, Baltimore, 1888.

engineer. He was married to Elizabeth E. Miller, of Uniontown, Pa. Their children were Eliza Jane and Samuel S.

Joseph Shriver (1806-1886), sixth and youngest son of Andrew Shriver, was educated in Baltimore as a civil engineer. He assisted his brother James in the surveys for the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal. In 1826 he was engaged in locating the National Road west of Wheeling and completed the surveys of this road from Indianapolis to Jefferson City, Mo. He was also associated with Jonathan Knight in surveying for the B. & O. R. R., and with his brother Thomas, as noted above, in projecting the P., W. & B. R. R. In 1833 his Uncle David enlisted his services in the re-establishment of the old Cumberland Bank of Allegany. He was cashier of this bank until 1852, when he succeeded his uncle as president. He was a prominent citizen of Cumberland until his death. He married Henrietta Jane Causten, of Washington, D. C.; their family consisted of four sons and six daughters.

BOOK REVIEWS

I Rode with Stonewall; Being Chiefly the War Experiences of the Youngest Member of Jackson's Staff, from the John Brown Raid to the Hanging of Mrs. Surratt. By HENRY KYD DOUGLAS. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, [1940]. 401 pp. \$3.00.

Here is a truly excellent narrative of the Civil War, or more particularly the Virginia and Maryland campaigns, as observed by an officer who saw clearly most of the great events of those heroic years, remembered well what he had seen, and recorded it modestly, simply, and well. It is too bad that so rich a narrative should have been so long in coming to light, and one regrets the modesty and diffidence which seem to have been the cause.

For Henry Kyd Douglas had much to say. He was born in 1840 in Shepherdstown, and hence was growing up in those eventful years when a strange, gaunt old man known as Isaac Smith was puttering around the hills near Harper's Ferry. The old fellow's cart was bogged one day, and young Douglas obligingly helped him get it started again, with the heavy box which had caused it to break down. It was some time later that Isaac Smith, the miner, proved to be John Brown of Ossawatimie; the box which young Douglas had innocently helped him rescue was filled with the pikes with which Brown was planning to arm the Negroes he sought to free. A little later Douglas saw the assault on Brown's "fort" and his capture.

This same narrator, six years later, through the lying treachery of a scamp, was to be arrested after Lincoln's murder, locked in a cell next to the Surratts, and roughly handled as a witness, protesting angrily against the imputation that he and his fellow Confederate officers had been connected in any way with the assassination.

Thus both in the most dramatic prelude to the War and in one of its most tragic postludes this same man was an observer. Between the two he saw much more, of which he indeed was a part, for he served on the staff of his adored Stonewall Jackson, commanded two Virginia regiments, was six times wounded (severely at Gettysburg) was cited for bravery, taken prisoner, paroled and given a brigade—the brigade which fired the last shot at Appomattox—and immediately after the war tried for treason, on the remarkable charge that he had worn his rebel uniform in order to have his picture taken!

In the pages are countless episodes of more than fleeting interest, and encounters with most of the heroic figures of the Virginia campaigns. Stonewall Jackson is adored, but there are chuckling stories about him which are worth reading, notably of the cold evening when Old Jack welcomed a bottle which someone had given him and, thinking it to be wine, took a mighty swig straight from the bottleneck. It was whisky, but Stonewall calmly ignored the mistake, or sought to. However, he was under the impression that the air was very warm, when actually it was getting colder all the time—the truth being, in Mr. Douglas' words, that Old Jack was "incipiently tight."

One recalls the tale of a dejected member of the Stonewall Brigade who

audibly wished the Yankees were in hell. "I don't," rejoined a comrade. "Old Jack would follow them there, with our brigade in front."

The redoubtable Belle Boyd was a boyhood acquaintance of Douglas. She appears fleetingly in the narrative, as do a great many lesser figures whom Douglas had known in civil life and was to know again after war's tumults ended. He is well remembered among many now in Baltimore and in Hagerstown where Mr. Douglas lived for some time, as judge of the Fourth Circuit, as major general commanding the Maryland troops in the 1894 strike, and as a courtly, scholarly citizen with many friends.

He died in 1903, his memoirs in excellent condition, for he had revised his original diary as passing years gave him better perspective. His nephew, John Kyd Beckenbaugh of Sharpsburg, inherited the papers, strangely enough did nothing with them for thirty-odd years, then fortunately made them available to the Chapel Hill press, and to Fletcher M. Green who has annotated the text. Mr. Beckenbaugh himself died only a few weeks ago, as the book was coming from the press. He would have been startled, one may surmise, by the heartiness of the praise given by many reviewers to the manuscript he left unpublished for so long.

MARK S. WATSON.

Hugh Young: A Surgeon's Autobiography. [By HUGH HAMPTON YOUNG.]
New York, Harcourt, Brace, [1940]. 554 pp. \$5.00

There are many remarkable things in Dr. Hugh Young's book about his own astonishing career. One of them is the title, not "The Doctor Looks at Something-or-Other," or anything cute like that, but just "Hugh Young, A Surgeon's Autobiography." In addition to "A Surgeon's Autobiography" it might as accurately have been called "A Soldier's Autobiography," "Autobiography of a G. U. Pioneer," "Autobiography of an Art Patron," or of "A Statesman." Another good one would have been "Autobiography of Indefatigability," for there has seldom been a man so tireless in his pursuit of everything from a kidney stone to a politician; and it is difficult to tell which he could operate upon more expertly when he wasn't operating upon both simultaneously.

Many reviewers have had a crack at this book and the great variety of their reviews is an indication of what is in it, but this reviewer has seen none which sufficiently noticed Dr. Young's immense gifts as a political strategist. The reason for this is probably that while most of the reviews this writer has seen were in publications of national circulation, Dr. Young's talents at shaking down great statesmen for the benefit of the body politic were exercised chiefly in respect to matters concerning the State of Maryland only, and hence were of little interest to reviewers on the big time. But they are of great interest here because not a few of the Doctor's Machiavellian forays left their mark upon the *corpus* and nature of the Free State and hence have considerable historical importance. They were also of particular interest to this reviewer because, as a reporter, he saw Dr. Young in action years ago at Annapolis when the State Legislature was in session, and knows how he used to work. Whenever he got into an affair of state he first surveyed the field and spotted all the strategic positions occupied by former patients. He never

seems to have had any trouble organizing them into a very effective sort of "old school" team; for there probably never was a leader of American democracy from "Diamond Jim" Brady downward and upward, who, once restored to comfort and virility by Dr. Young, wouldn't "go to town" for him when called upon.

He called upon them so frequently that a good case might be made out for the theory that he saved them on the operating table in the first place in order to have them on hand when he needed them in the halls of legislation; but that would, of course, be a far-fetched theory. Nevertheless that's the way it worked out. It was in that fashion that he saved the Maryland tuberculosis bills in the Maryland Legislature in the winter of 1903. He did more than save these bills, he literally raised them from the dead, for they had been killed and their backers had quit the field. These backers included such Johns Hopkins medical giants as Osler, Welch, and Thayer, great men but lacking in glamour to a politician. Dr. Young read in the evening papers that the bills had been unfavorably reported, telephoned the despondent Dr. Thayer who told him there was nothing anybody could do; dashed off nevertheless to Annapolis where he looked several old patients in the eye and wagged a powerfully admonitory and reminiscent forefinger at them; and, although the session was virtually over and the statesmen running for the cloakrooms, got the bills brought out again, passed, and signed by the Governor "in a fashion entirely incomprehensible to the political reporters."

Dr. Osler, it is reported, exclaimed, as he passed Dr. Young in the hospital corridor a few days later, "That was fine work, Young, getting those bills passed!" Whereupon the great Osler undertook a horseback diagnosis of the reason Dr. Young had been able to accomplish this feat. But for this key to much of Hugh Young's success in statesmanship and politics you must read the book. It isn't fair to give everything away in a review.

Thus, also, he helped kill an abortive state prohibition bill in 1915-16, lining up an aggregation of ecclesiastics and physicians headed by Cardinal Gibbons, whose name led an imposing list in a full-page advertisement of protest in *The Sun*; he drove purse-netting from the Chesapeake Bay, organized the first State Aviation Commission, practically kidnapped Anthony Eden to bring him to Baltimore, created a creditable Maryland Exhibit for the New York World's Fair in 1939, with six weeks to go and the papers booing the whole idea; and got the United States Naval Academy Band sent to New York for "Maryland Day" at the Fair through the simple expedient of a special Act of Congress which he shoved through both Houses and the White House just 48 hours before "Maryland Day" was to be celebrated.

The simple recitals of these events not only constitute some of the most engrossing chapters of the book for Marylanders, but they introduce the author as a story-teller with a highly expert reportorial gift for recreating scenes and situations in simple, strong outlines of prose, totally free of useless verbiage. In all the 554 pages there isn't a word wasted; indeed, you wish that some of his best stories might have been told more fulsomely than they are. But by resisting the urge to loquacity he not only promoted vividness but maintained modesty—an extremely difficult thing for a John Bunyan of genito-urinary surgery to do when telling about hair-raising exploits of his own. He accomplishes this difficult feat by sticking sternly to reciting what happened. The book swarms with simple, unvarnished facts, but is extremely

close-mouthed about what the author thought, either of the people or the affairs involved. Maybe he is saving what he thought for another book, and the suggestion that he write one is passed along herewith. It would be a good one.

With the reputation of Young, the world-famous genito-urinary surgeon Marylanders generally are familiar; they know of his work in France in the World War when, as head of the Division of Urology of the A. E. F. he worked so successfully (as he puts it), "to make the underworld safe for democracy," that the army made an all-time record for the control of venereal disease in war-time; and they know of his vast and tireless interest in art, history, music, aviation and politics. What may not have been understood about Hugh Young is the combination of limitless industry, steady ambition, insatiable curiosity, indefatigable patience and wide interest in all human affairs which made him a genius in his own profession and at the same time an expert and connoisseur of no mean quality in many professions pursued by other men. He was the kind of man who was capable of success at anything he undertook, who undertook much, and who never was content with anything less than success. All this, in spite of his effort to keep it purely factual, shines through the pages of this book which he wrote while he had the shingles. If you've ever had the shingles, try to imagine writing a 600-page autobiography while you had them. There are a thousand ways to measure the stature of Hugh Young but perhaps, in the long run, this is as good a way as any.

RAYMOND S. TOMPKINS.

My Dear Lady, the Story of Anna Ella Carroll, the Great, Unrecognized Member of Lincoln's Cabinet. By MARJORIE BARSTOW GREENBIE. New York, Whittlesey House, 1940. 316 pp. \$2.75.

Anna Ella Carroll was the most remarkable woman that Maryland has produced, and anything about her is certain to be interesting.

And so, *My Dear Lady* makes interesting reading for those who wish to be entertained and for those who like the modern type of biography in which fact and fiction are pleasantly blended.

Mrs. Greenbie quotes Bishop McClelland, of the Episcopal Diocese of Easton, as saying that the life of Anna Ella Carroll cannot be told in a biography, but only in a "novel." A "novel," according to the late Mr. Webster, is a "fictitious story or romance," and *My Dear Lady* is just that, with enough historical background to satisfy the casual reader.

There has always been much mystery about Miss Carroll, and Mrs. Greenbie's book only deepens that mystery and makes that amazing woman more of an enigma than ever. All of which makes for entertainment, but it hardly adds to our knowledge of Miss Carroll. And certainly it adds nothing to her fame.

Mrs. Greenbie depicts Miss Carroll as a sort of Hollywood spy, who entertained the Southern leaders at fashionable soirées in Washington and reported their dinner table gossip to the Northerners.

In her efforts to make Miss Carroll a glamor girl, the author takes undue liberties with her heroine's character. She repeats the ridiculous story that ten

years before the War Between the States Jefferson Davis had complete plans for a Southern Confederacy to include the slave States, Cuba, Mexico and Central America.

Mrs. Greenbie says that Henry Clay procured these plans under circumstances so dubious that the method could not be made public. And in the very next sentence the author suggests that it was Miss Carroll who furnished the method.

Anna Ella Carroll deserves a real biography, but it has yet to be written.

RICHARD D. STEUART.

Mrs. Robert E. Lee. By ROSE MORTIMER ELLZEY MACDONALD. Boston, Ginn and Company, 1939. xxvi, 310 pp. \$1.60.

Rose M. E. MacDonald's *Mrs. Robert E. Lee* is based on sound scholarship. The bibliography attests to that. So does the fact that as able a historian as Matthew Page Andrews, of this Society, says a "word about the book." It is vouched for also by the fact that Douglas Southall Freeman, part editor, part historian and wholly Southerner, writes the introduction. Indeed, to do a biography of any Southern gentlewoman takes both scholarship and perseverance. Mr. Freeman is exactly right when he says that ladies never figured in the public news and that ladies' letters were, because of that, usually destroyed. One Southern senator, who resigned in 1860, had a wife and several children, yet, in all the thirty-five volumes of his manuscript letters, there is only one letter from his wife, and that one was written on the back of another letter received. Small wonder then that there are gaps in the story of Mary Anna Randolph Custis Lee, and that the biographer, who regrets that fact more than her readers can do, has given us much background. Mrs. Lee stands out from her background and dominates it. In her way she had as high courage as her husband did. When he left her, in February 1856, she was not well; but she could write him letters full of cheerful news, letters asking his advice about crops or slaves or children, without telling him about her wakeful nights and her useless right arm.

The format of the book is its least attractive feature. The illustrations, largely interesting family portraits and old prints and photographs, suffer from poor reproduction.

That Mrs. Lee still stands in the shadow of her husband, in the sense that no biography of her would have been thought of, had she not been his wife, is true. The student of military tactics and strategy can neglect it, but the student of the whole Robert E. Lee should not. Ye this *Life* is not dominated by him: it is the life of Mrs. Robert E. Lee.

ELIZABETH MERRITT.

Virginia, A Guide to the Old Dominion. Compiled by workers of the Federal Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration. . . . New York, Oxford University Press [1940]. 699 pp. \$3.00.

Virginia and Massachusetts vie with each other for first place in having within their state boundaries the greatest number of historic landmarks.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the guide book prepared under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration for the State of Virginia is rich in material for those who wish to recapture the past as they swiftly motor along modern roads. Divided into four main sections: Virginia's Background, Cities, Tours, Appendices, it is the special treatment of the background material that sets this guide book apart from the others in the series. Written in delightful essay form, the cultural and economic background of Virginia is presented so that the many complexities of education and commerce and agriculture, are traced skilfully from colonial days through to 1940, giving the reader a bird's eye view of Virginia's place in both the colonies and nation.

The tours have been so planned that not only those who come from afar find it possible to take in the maximum number of points in one trip, but as well those who live in states adjacent to Virginia can adapt many of the tours to provide fascinating holidays or even half-holidays. The subject matter, while necessarily concise (and this is of advantage when reading quickly en route) is colorful and manages to include many facts not found in the more formal histories which, up to now, have been the only source of historical information for the average person. The index is good, the illustrations unusually fine. All in all, this makes a splendid companion piece to the Maryland *Guide* for all Marylanders to tuck in some convenient car nook.

BETA KAESSMANN MANAKEE.

Gilbert Stuart and His Pupils; Together with the Complete Notes on Painting by Matthew Harris Jouett from Conversations with Gilbert Stuart in 1816. By JOHN HILL MORGAN. New York, New York Historical Society, 1939. 102 pp. \$3.50.

This is a partial and indirect study of the great American portrait painter and his circle, but Mr. Morgan has nevertheless made a clear contribution to the Gilbert Stuart material. In view of his title the author takes too much for granted our familiarity with the life and work of his major figure. He proceeds at once to present the factual and legendary grounds for believing that twenty-two men and women may or may not have been the friends, pupils or associates of Gilbert Stuart. The value of the book lies in the author's scrupulous regard for data. In no case does he presume upon it, although the title of the volume itself and the presence, as chapter-headings, of such names as Rembrandt Peale and Samuel F. B. Morse may temporarily mislead the reader. A real contribution is the first printing, in its entirety, of Matthew Jouett's notes on painting and conversations with Stuart. "Flesh is like no other substance under heaven. It has all the gaiety of a silk mercers shop without the gaudiness or glare and all the soberness of old mahogany without its deadness or sadness" (p. 83). To those who know his portraits, such words carry the ring of Gilbert Stuart's voice and echo the force of Browere's mask of the old Rhode Islander (frontispiece).

Mr. Stuart would surely have liked the dignified and elegant printing of this book which maintains the high standard of the Society's publications.

ELEANOR PATTERSON SPENCER.

Chesapeake Bay Cook Book. . . . By FERDINAND C. LATROBE. . . . Illustrated by Yardley. Baltimore, Horn-Shafer Co, 1940. [48 pp.] 50 cents.

To those of us who have cruised the Chesapeake Bay and its environs, with the water sparkling, the green hills close, but not too close, the headlands opening away before us, or have tossed upon it on a sullen day, with gray clouds, low hanging, and a sharp wind behind, this little book comes somewhat as an eye-opener, and a surprise. For, though we suspected what treasures the Bay held, and have often gone on a vain quest for them, we did not realize, until now, the infinite varieties of the Chesapeake's yield, and the many things that can be done with them. Mr. Latrobe's booklet has enlightened us. And not only that. He has introduced us to at least one new species of clam, and a great many useful and wise rules to follow in the preparation of all seafoods.

Though this is a book of recipes gathered, says Mr. Latrobe, from far and wide, from manuscripts, from old clippings, from ancient household treasures and from recollection and research, all of them have been tried, and not found wanting. If the proof of the recipe is the eating thereof, we can accept these as being as delicious as they are authentic. Indeed, in looking them over, we were immediately consumed by an overwhelming desire to do the things he suggests to oysters, crabs, shrimps, and even (if anyone should *insist* that we be the recipient of a magnificent gift) diamond-back terrapin. For one thing, the recipes are simple enough for the average cook (if any) to prepare. They consist of ingredients which are all easily obtainable—an unusual quality in a cook book, most of which discourage the amateur by calling for the most unheard of materials, only to be found in the market-places of Yugoslavia, or one of the extinct Channel ports. We were particularly intrigued by, and will try Mr. Latrobe's recipe for *Bouillabaise*. Not only does it look possible, but even probable. We like, too, and heartily agree with his dictum that "to dip good oysters into cocktail sauces completely destroys their flavor, and is a sinful waste. It is far better to eat the oysters for themselves alone, and enjoy the cocktail on crackers."

At any rate, the book had our mouth watering, and our sleeves rolled up. The slight touch of history which Mr. Latrobe judiciously adds, only serves to flavor his concoctions the more, and the Yardley illustrations do to this little book what an excellent sauce does to a well seasoned dish, or that extra maraschino cherry to something served in a sherbert-glass. If the "dark unfathomed caves" of the Chesapeake bear such richness, Mr. Latrobe has put it upon our tables, as it were, with a flourish. As good Marylanders, true to our tradition, the least we can do is to take advantage of it.

AMY GREIF.

. . . *Guide to the Material in the National Archives*. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1940. 303 pp. \$.70 cloth; \$.40 paper.

A preliminary guide to the materials which began to flow into the National Archives building in December 1935 was published two years ago in an appendix to the *Third Annual Report* of the Archivist. The present publication entirely supersedes the earlier one, but it is itself only tentative, for it does not include all the materials now on deposit and its treatment of the

records from the various depositing offices is not only incomplete but lacking in uniformity, since the study of some groups of records has progressed farther than others. This reviewer does not, however, feel that any apology is necessary for the publication of such a guide. No one now can know how long it will take to study the vast amount of material which has already been deposited, especially when almost every custodial office sent along its own cumulative catchall of records known as "Miscellaneous Records," the nightmare of all archival establishments, and no one can predict what the rate of flow will be in the future or what cataloguing personnel the Congress will provide. Even such a tentative guide represents an incalculable investment of time and labor; its usefulness to scholars in all fields of American life should justify the cost.

MORRIS L. RADOFF.

Some Descendants of Nathaniel Woodward, Mathematician. Compiled by PERCY EMMONS WOODWARD. Edited for the author by Mary Lovering Holman. Newtonville, Mass., 1940. 63 pp.

A strictly Massachusetts work, the *Woodward Genealogy* does not attempt to present a complete record of the family. It carries the male line only, but includes all descendants of Nathaniel Woodward named Woodward from the early 17th century to the present day. It provides an interesting study of unusual New England names. The frontispiece is a reproduction of Woodward's and Saffery's map (1642) showing the region from Boston to Springfield, with parts of Connecticut and Rhode Island. An Index of Persons provides a complete catalogue of the names mentioned.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

The Ancient Barracks at Fredericktown. By LUCY LEIGH BOWIE. Frederick, Md. State School for the Deaf [1939]. 31 pp.

Old Fredericktown. . . . By WILLIAM CRAWFORD JOHNSON, M. D. Frederick, Md., State School for the Deaf [1938] 16 pp.

Miss Bowie's interest in the barracks at Frederick led her to collect all the facts, known and unknown, about the old stone building that quartered the Hessian prisoners during the Revolution and part of which still stands on the grounds of the Maryland State School for the Deaf at Frederick. Efforts to prove that the barracks were built during the Indian Wars have been unavailing; Miss Bowie concludes that the matter must remain in doubt until land records definitely locating the barracks may be found. The subsequent history of the barracks is interestingly told and is interlarded with many picturesque details.

Old Fredericktown is an address delivered by Dr. Johnson before the Frederick Rotary Club. It retells the story of the settlement of the city, its growth as a station on the route to the West, its numerous picturesque taverns, and the part played by its citizens in throwing off the yoke of the British Empire.

CHARLES HIRSCHFELD.

A History of the Germania Club. By DIETER CUNZ [Baltimore, Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, 1940] 27 pp.

In celebration of a century of existence this booklet traces in pleasant fashion the ups and downs of the leading social organization of Baltimoreans of German birth and extraction. Dr. Cunz, who is engaged in the extensive undertaking of preparing a history of the German element in Maryland from early times, has drawn material for this account from the somewhat sketchy though continuous records of the Club.

Correction—In the last number of the Magazine the price of the recent volume of genealogy published by the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Maryland was given as \$10.00. This is the prepublication price. The book is now priced at \$15.00.

NOTES AND QUERIES

PLANS FOR RESTORATION OF SMALLWOOD'S RETREAT

Charles Countians interested in preserving historical monuments of Maryland have purchased the ruins of the home of General William Smallwood and established the Smallwood Foundation, Inc., to carry out the restoration of the home and burial place of Maryland's foremost Revolutionary soldier and early governor.

Mrs. Foster M. Reeder, of Mount Victoria, is president of the Foundation and the originator of the movement. Mrs. Reeder is directly descended from Colonel William Truman Stoddert, nephew of General Smallwood, and lives at West Hatton, the mansion being the original home of Colonel Stoddert. Mrs. Edith B. Lloyd, of Wicomico Knoll, Mount Victoria, wife of Major William H. Lloyd, U. S. A., retired, is secretary of the Foundation, and Mr. H. S. Swann, of La Plata, is treasurer.

Mr. James H. Wills, owner of La Grange, the home of Surgeon General James Craik of the Revolutionary Army; Mrs. Frank Jack Fletcher, wife of Admiral Fletcher, U. S. N., and owner of Araby, the home of Mrs. George Mason; Judge Walter J. Mitchell, Mr. Charles Stephenson Smith, owner of Havre de Venture, home of Thomas Stone, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and many other Southern Marylanders are interested in the effort to restore the old mansion.

Plans for restoration have been prepared with great care by the National Park Service. The property is at Rison Post Office, about 25 miles south of Washington, in Charles County, on Route 224. A marker on this highway indicates the entrance. A campaign to raise funds for the restoration is under preparation. The Foundation is eager to locate all relatives of General Smallwood and to assemble documents and possessions throwing light on his home life. The Maryland Sons of the American Revolution erected a granite monument over General Smallwood's grave, immediately in front of the home, July 4, 1898.

Mrs. Reeder and Mr. Smith told of the Foundation's plans before a luncheon of the Smallwood Chapter of the D. A. R., in Baltimore last

winter, and enlisted the support of that organization, which had already erected a tablet to the great soldier in Durham Protestant Episcopal Church, a few miles from Smallwood's Retreat, which is the name of the historic estate. General Smallwood was a member of the vestry of this venerable church and had it re-roofed and repaired at his own expense.

Smallwood's Retreat is part of Mattowoman, a great property owned by Bayne Smallwood, father of the general, whose mother was Priscilla Hebard, of Virginia. The property is located on Mattowoman Creek, near where it empties into the Potomac, and lies opposite Gunston Hall, the home of George Mason.

Mason, Washington, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, John Hanson, Thomas Stone, Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown, Dr. James Craik and other outstanding patriots were neighbors and friends of Smallwood who frequently visited his home. One of the upper rooms in the house was used as a meeting place for the Masonic fraternity.

SIR EDMUND PLOWDEN, HIS SETTLERS, AND CERTAIN OF HIS DESCENDANTS

I have been assembling records for the past several years on the efforts of my ancestor, Sir Edmund Plowden, to plant a settlement during the period 1634-1650 in his Proprietary Province of New Albion, now New Jersey and adjacent territory (See *William and Mary Quarterly*, January, 1940, pp. 62-78). Plowden (also known as Earl of Albion), blocked by the Swedes on the Delaware, arrived in Virginia with his settlers in December 1642. He had planned just a short sojourn there, but as misfortunes continued to interfere with his colonizing plans, Plowden remained in Virginia until the spring of 1648, when he sailed back to England. Unpublished Virginia county court records show he lived mainly in Elizabeth City County, also in York and Northampton Counties. Plowden died in England in 1659.

(1) I should be glad to know of any unpublished records showing that Plowden was in Maryland. He was of a Catholic family; he corresponded in 1639 with Lord Baltimore; and some evidence indicates he originally planned his colony as another Catholic haven.

(2) I should like to know of any Maryland residents who came to America in 1642 as Plowden's colonists. Of the three who are known I want more data, these being Eleanor Stevenson who married Capt. William Branthwait; her sister Jane who was in Maryland in 1643; and Anne Fletcher, Plowden's "lame maid servant," whom Giles Brent brought to Kent Island in 1643.

(3) I should like to find records of Sir Edmund's great grandson, George Plowden, Jr., whose father, George Plowden (1663-1713) came out from England in 1685 and settled at "Resurrection Manor" on the Patuxent. George, whose father was Francis, Sir Edmund's eldest son, married about 1694, Margaret Brent, a daughter of Giles Brent, and a granddaughter of Gov. Giles Brent and Mary Kittamaquund. George and Margaret had two other children besides George Jr.: Mary, who married John Nuthall; and Edmund (1696-1758), who, with his wife Henrietta Slye (1710-1796), became the ancestors of the St. Mary County Plowdens.

George Jr. inherited two farms under his father's will, probated Nov. 1713. He witnessed Richard Fenwick's will in Maryland in April, 1714. I

would like to know if Jean Spalding became his wife, she being the daughter of Ann Jenkins (D-1761) and William Spalding (1678-1741), and being mentioned in her father's will, written in Maryland in 1740, as Jean Plowden. I would also like records of George Jr.'s birth, death, residence, descendants, etc. Perhaps after his father's death he moved to Frederick, Md., where I have heard there are some early Plowden records.

CLIFFORD LEWIS 3RD,
240 So. Fourth St., Philadelphia, Pa.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

MR. GEORGE T. NESS, JR., a practicing attorney of Baltimore, is engaged in a study of Marylanders who have been members of the United States Supreme Court. He is instructor in American history at the Baltimore Polytechnic Institute. ☆ A graduate of the Johns Hopkins University and holder of a doctorate from Brown University where his studies in American history were directed by Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth, JOSEPH T. WHEELER is now a member of the Minneapolis Public Library staff. ☆ The letters of A. C. Hanson, second of the name, contributed by JOSEPH H. SCHAUINGER, were discovered in the course of the latter's biographical study of William Gaston of North Carolina. Mr. Schauinger is a graduate of Indiana University and holds the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Georgetown University. ☆ While writing *The Romantic Decatur*, published by the University of Pennsylvania Press in 1937, PROFESSOR CHARLES LEE LEWIS of the Department of English at the United States Naval Academy, gathered material for the article here printed for the first time. ☆ Author of *Art-Song in America, a Study in the Development of American Music* and of a biography of Anthony Philip Heinrich, composer, WILLIAM TREAT UPTON is a retired member of the faculty of Oberlin Conservatory of Music where for 30 years he was professor of piano. He is now continuing research in American musical history at the Library of Congress. ☆ A descendant of Andrew Shriver, some of whose letters he edited for the *Magazine*, MR. THOMAS W. KEMP, retired newspaper man, lived until his death on November 13 in the old Shriver home at Union Mills, close to the great brick grist mill which his forbears built and which the family still controls.

The October issue of *The American Historical Review* (XLVI, 1-20) contains an interesting article by Prof. Charles A. Barker of Stanford University on "Maryland Before the Revolution: Society and Thought." Social differentiation and economic decentralization are given as the principal characteristics of the Province. The more orthodox attitudes of the outlying sections are described, and then the thought and feeling in the lower counties are analyzed from four points of view: legalism, political liberalism, religious skepticism, and literary values. The point is made that liberal convictions reached down through all levels of society, and it is suggested that this

accounted, not only for the revolutionary impulse in Maryland, but also for the ease with which "men of great property were able to take and keep the reins of government even while the Revolution transformed the province into the state."

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

Hobbs—Would like information regarding parents of John Ridgely Hobbs, born July 4, 1799, in Anne Arundel Co., Maryland.

M. L. NICHOLS,
3819 N. Willamette Blvd., Portland, Oregon.

Frizzell—I would like to have genealogical data for Frizzells whose ancestors first settled in Maryland and migrated to Virginia, North Carolina, and other Southern states. My great-great grandfather was Nathan Frizzell, born in Baltimore County, Maryland, August 7, 1759; was a soldier in the Revolutionary War from South Carolina; moved from Anson County, North Carolina, in 1802, to Bedford County, Tennessee; died in Calloway County, Kentucky, December 17, 1843.

BONNER FRIZZELL,
Palestine, Texas.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

October 14, 1940.—The meeting of the Society was held at 8.15 o'clock with President Radcliffe in the chair. In listing donations to the library and gallery the Librarian expressed the Society's thanks for defraying the cost of binding of the first 86 volumes of the D. A. R. Lineage Books, to the Baltimore Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution; for the gift of the Joseph B. Legg collection of historical data and photographs, and the valuable additions made by Mr. Louis H. Dielman to the collection of Baltimore sheet music. The presentation by Miss Ethel M. Miller of eight grandfather clocks, from the Edgar G. Miller, Jr., Collection, was noted with appreciation. Dr. J. Hall Pleasants reported the valuable donation by Mr. Carl D. Clarke of his skill in restoring several paintings for the Society, among them the two small portraits from the Richard H. Thompson estate. The thanks of the Society were extended to Mr. Clarke who was present.

The following persons were elected to membership:

Active

Mr. Meiric K. Dutton
Mr. Cuyler Hammond
Mr. Benedict Henry Hanson, Jr.,
Mr. Thomas Hartley Marshall, Jr.,
Mr. Holt Maulsby

Mrs. William Chase Orem
Mr. W. Kennon Perrin
Mrs. Francis H. Purnell
Dr. Charles W. Wainwright
Dr. Howard H. Warner

Associate

Mrs. Frederick Dearborn

Mrs. Garland P. Ferrell

The following deaths were reported:

James Harford Cranwell, on May 15, 1940.

John Hinkley, on July 18, 1940.

W. George Hynson, on September 10, 1940.

Mrs. Francis T. Redwood (Mary Buchanan), on September 4, 1940.
(Life Member)

Timothy Ryan, Jr., on July 12, 1940.

Miss Sarah Elizabeth Stuart, on August 11, 1940.

Mr. John Henry Scarff gave a most interesting talk on "English Precedent for American Colonial Architecture," illustrated with lantern slides. Dr. J. Hall Pleasants moved that the thanks of the Society be extended to Mr. Scarff for his delightful talk. Seconded by Mr. Charles Linville, the motion was unanimously carried.

November 11, 1940.—The regular meeting was held this evening with President Radcliffe in the chair. The list of donations made to the library was read. The following persons were elected to membership:

Active

Mr. Stuart H. Anderson

Mr. Thomas N. Berry

Dr. Charles Branch Clark

Miss Frances Cushing Hewes

Mr. T. Courtney Jenkins

Mr. Howard Darnall Knighton

Mr. Richard C. Medford

Mrs. James M. Merritt

Mrs. James Nicklin

Miss Ruby Pannel

Mr. W. Kennon Perrin

Mr. C. E. Steele

Miss Fannie E. Stuart

Miss Lida Lee Tall

Mr. George Ross Veazey

Miss Catherine B. Ward

Mrs. Frank Atwater Ward

Associate

Mr. Lockwood Barr

Mrs. Lockwood Barr

Mrs. Burton S. Kinsworthy

Rev. Leo J. McCormick

Mrs. George M. Phipps

Mr. Douglas C. Tilghman

The death of Mr. James R. Paine, on October 24, 1940, was reported.

Mr. Hulbert Footner gave a most interesting dramatization of episodes from his new book, *Joshua Barney, Maryland's Picturesque Sailor of Fortune*. A rising vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Footner by the Society.

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